AN Historical Account OF THE Rise and Growth of the West-INDIA COLLONIES,

And of the Great Advantages they are to *England*, in respect to Trade.

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To my much Honoured Friend

Sir **Robert Davers,**

Baronet, and to the rest of the Gentlemen Interested and Concern'd in the

West-INDIES.

Gentlemen,

THe following Treatise was occasion'd by the great and Just Complaints made by you, of the Additional duty that was laid upon your Product, and fell upon your Labour and Industry, tho' design'd by the Parliament to have been paid by the Consumptioner; at that time the Inventions of most Men were at work (especially those that had any dealing with you, and a sense of your sufferings) to contrive a Method whereby relief might have been given to you that are the best Employ'd hands for the Enriching and supporting this Nation.

After much time had been spent, in endeavouring the taking off the Duty, and found that no Arguments were prevalent, and almost all People despairing of Relief, then Col. Waldrond, my self, and others, with no small pains, nor little Charge, contrived (as we thought) a Method, that might not only have laid the Duty on the Consumptioner, but also might have relieved you from the Complaints of those that does charge you with being great Debtors, and to have Enabled every Planter to make the best Advantage of their Plantations, by supplying them with Monies, at the

Co mon Intereſt of the Colonies, *by preventing numorous Sellers, neceſſitous and Ignorant Sales.*

And that this might run through the moſt ſtricteſt Examination before it ſhould have been allowed of, We propoſed that his Late Majeſty *and* Privy-Council *might have the firſt view of it, that they might be ſatisfied it did not leſſen his* Majeſties Revenue, *and that We might have his* Majeſties *leave to propoſe it to the* Aſſemblies *of every Individual* Collony, *and if they did approve of it, and Petition'd his* Majeſty *for the Incorporating ſuch Societies, that then we and our Friends might be Intereſted in it.*

But this meeting with Oppoſition, occaſioned a Hearing before his Majeſty *and the* Lords *of his* Privy-Council, *and after they were ſatisfied it did not leſſen his* Majeſties Revenue: *Our great debate with the Oppoſers was about his* Majeſties *giving leave for the ſending of it to the Collonies for them to Try and Examine it; His* Majeſty *was pleaſed to declare, that he could not underſtand any reaſon could be given why they might not have a ſight of it, for he thought* Barbado's *beſt knew what* Barbado's *wanted: I believe none will deny but that it met with a General Approbation of all the* Lords *of the* Council, *except my* Lord Chancellour, *of whom I was Informed by a Friend, (but at that time an Oppoſer of this deſign) that he was our Enemy, and Accordingly We found him.*

Soon after this hearing, the Government *began to be uneaſy, and holding it not proper for a matter of this Nature, to be further proceeded on, under an* Unſetled Government, *I rather choſe to be Silent, and to bear ſuch Reflections that was made by thoſe that were Totally Ignorant of the Method of our Undertaking, though Frejudiciall to my particular Intereſt, then to Expoſe it to view, before I ſaw the* Government *in a Temper to Conſider of* Trade, *and the great benefit you are to this* Nation.

Therefore I have now Expoſed it for your view, that you may be Judges whether it might have been, or may be Serviceable to you, and whether our requeſt of ſending it to you was unreaſonable.

You will find by this Treatiſe (*as I humbly conceive*) *that our deſign would at leaſt have raiſed the value of your Goods to the price it bore before the* Additional Duty *was laid, and it was allowed at that Hearing by the Oppoſers, that it would raiſe at leaſt Twenty* per Cent. *Our Method was to have had all your* Goods *that came to* England

land *brought to one Body of Men, which we call'd a* Common Factory, *and they constantly to be chosen by you in your* Assemblies, *and they to have been Accountable to every* Consigner *for the Nett proceed of every parcell of Goods Sold, for which your Charge was not to exceed what you now pay: The other part of our design was to Erect a* Company, *separate from the* Common Factory, *which should have sufficient Funds in each Colony, to lend what Monies you had occasion of, you giving* Security *on* Lands *or* Goods, *and if they did not lend it, on demand, they were to forfeit to the Borrower considerable for every hundred Pound demanded, the* Lands *or* Goods *being valued by Sworn* Appraisers, *what was lent was to be continued during your Pleasure, you paying your Interest when due, and you had Power to pay it in, when you pleased, and they obliged to lend too at least one half value of* Land, *or* Goods, *and you not to have been confined to have borrowed it of them, but where else you pleased, so that this* Company *might have been Serviceable, but could not have been hurtfull, for they were bound to Obey, and had no Power to Command.*

To make it next to Impossibility, that the Government *should ever be Imposed on, to permit any* Laws *or* Designs *of any Persons whatsoever, let their pretences be ever so Specious take effect, untill the Colonies by their* Assembly *were Consulted with: I have to the best of my knowledge given a True and Just Account of what Import, you are to this* Nation, *by Encreasing of* Navigation, *consuming the* Woollen-Manufactory, *of all sorts of Apparell, Housh old-Goods, &c. that are made in* England, *and that which was formerly* Forreign Commodities, *and cost us Considerable yearly, by your Industry, is become Native, the Nation freed from that Charge, and the* Consumptioner *saves at least one half of his Expence for the like quantity; Besides the great Advantage this* Nation *receives by your* Goods *Exported, being over and above our Consumption; And Lastly, all the Riches you get in the* Indies *by your great Care, Labour, and Industry, is brought to* England, *and here it Centers.*

If you will be pleased to rectify my Errours, that I through Ignorance may have Committed, that our Legislators *may be more fully satisfy'd, that you are and ever must be* English-Men, *and that you are much more beneficially Employed there, for the Benefit of this* Nation, *than any the like Number in* England, *that every hardship that is put upon you, that makes your* Goods *dearer in* Forreign Markets, *or lessens the*

Consumption *in* England, *is a leſſening to the Trade of* England, *and conſequently prejudicial to every Subject in* England: *and if this ſmall* Treatiſe, *meets with your kind Acceptance, I ſhall think my ſelf very happy, and ſhall always be ready to demonſtrate, that I am your Well-wiſher, and* Gentlemen,

Your Moſt Humble and

Faithfull Servant.

Dalby Thomas.

CAP. I.

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THere is nothing more frequent amongſt the Generality of Mankind than is the drawing wrong Concluſions from right Premiſes, whereby the moſt conciſe and trueſt Maxims and ſayings that wiſe Men upon ſolid thinking have contriv'd to guide us like Landmarks in the ſearch of Truth, are perverted by wrong Applications to drown our Underſtandings in the Gulph of Errour.

Thus becauſe Truth it ſelf is not truer, than that People are the Wealth of a Nation, thoſe who have not time, experience, and skill, to examine the Fond of that undeniable verity, tho' in other things Men of Excellent Underſtandings are apt to inferr, that all who ſet foot out of the Kingdom are in ſome degree a diminution of its Wealth, and thence take for granted that the *American* Collonies occaſion the decay both of the People and Riches of the Nation, when upon a thorough Examination nothing can appear more Erroneous, as I doubt not to make plain to every man, tho' my principal deſign is to convince the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, who being the Contrivers of our Statutes and moſt concern'd for the Preſervation of its Grandeur ought rightly to be Inform'd, for fear our Laws in time take a contrary Byaſs to our Trade and Navigation, which are undeniably our Glory and Strength, as well as the only Fountain of our Riches.

To make this point clear it is neceſſary to Conſider and Examine Four things,

1. What is Real Wealth:
2. What is Imaginary Wealth:
3. How theſe are acquir'd:
4. How they may be loſt.

To distinguish rightly in these points we must consider Money as the least part of the Wealth of any Nation, and think of it only as a Scale to weigh one thing against another, Or as Counters to reckon Riches by, or as a pawn of Intrinsique value to depolite in lieu of any necessary whatsoever.

True, Solid, and real Wealth therefore in respect to the Nation is the Land, and what is upon or under its surface, as usefull Buildings, Trees, Quarries, Mines, *&c.*

Thus by a good Computation made by Sir *William Petty*, which we will take for granted till there appears a better, We may reckon the present Rent of Land and Houses to be 10000000*l. per Annum*, which at 20 years purchase amounts to 200000000*l.*

The People of this Nation consume Annually in necessary Meat, Drink and Cloaths, computed from their Numbers, manner of Living, and usuall price Current of things about 50000000*l.* Annually, which is about 6*l.* 10*s.* a Head.

The Imaginary Wealth therefore of the Nation which consists in Labour, Trade, and Negotiation, is four times as much as the Reall, And Preserved in its natural Channels, is to be reduced to the same Value in Purchase as Land; whereby we may allow, that the Intrinsick worth of the People and Kingdom as they now stand together, is 1000000000*l.*

The Money in Species of the Nation, tho' the Scale by which the whole is valued and weighed, amounts not to 6000000*l.*

Now such as do account the Lands and Buildings of the Nation more valuable, because Real, then the Negotiation, because Accidentall and Imaginary, will find themselves mistaken, since Lands and Houses without People are of no value at all, and to a Naked, and uninduſtrious Nation very little more, so that Labour, Invention, Trade, and Negotiation, are the only Causes of as well as Supports to that we call Riches.

This is so self-Evident that it will be superfluous to Illustrate it by many examples or Comparisons between Civil and Barbarous Countrys.

Therefore we must Consider, that when it is said, People are the Wealth of a Nation, It is only meant, Laborious and Industrious People, and not such as are wholly unemploy'd, as Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, Servingmen, and Beggars, *&c.* Or which is worse, Employ'd only in disturbing the Industrious and Laborious, as Pettifoggers, Informers, Catchpoles and Theeves; And tho' the first sorts may be

be neceſſary, as harmleſs Spurs to Conſumption, Learning or Vertue, or as objects of the good will, mutuall Love, Pitty and Compaſſion of Humane Nature, as well as Increaſers of the Numbers by Children, yet the fewer ſuch the better, whereas the laſt ſhould by all Imaginary ways be diſcouraged, tam'd or deſtroy'd as the worſt of Vermine in a well-Govern'd Common-wealth.

We muſt likewiſe conſider, that the value of every thing uſefull to the neceſſities, Luxuries, or Vanities of Life, is meaſured by the Induſtry and Labour either of Body or Mind, which is neceſſary to their Acquirement, whereby things of little or no price in one Country, by the time ſpent, Labour and hazard of thoſe which carry them to Another become dear.

From all which it is plain that only Induſtrious and Laborious People are the Riches of any Nation, And it will as naturally follow, that theſe Laborious or Induſtrious which Employ their Tallents to moſt Advantage, are of moſt value to ſuch Nation.

And tho' a Man whoſe skill amounts to no more than to Earn 3*d.* a Day by his continuall Labour, can no ways add to the Wealth of a Kingdom like Ours, becauſe it will not ſupply his neceſſary Conſumption, yet ſuch a Man is a leſs burthen to it than one totally Idle, and may Increaſe the number by Children.

So again, One that conſtantly by his Labour can Earn 6*d.* a Day only, and Conſumes juſt ſo much, as he is not Advantageous to the Nations Wealth, ſo he is no Burthen neither, and occaſions its Increaſe.

But that Man who by Induſtry and Labour not only maintains himſelf and Family, but makes himſelf Rich, is to the proportion of his Wealth juſt ſo much Addition to the Intrinſique value of the Kingdom.

I have the more Enlarged upon this head, that I might lead the mind of the Reader by a naturall Chain of Conſequences rightly to underſtand the true Original and Everlaſting ſupport of Wealth, which is nothing elſe but Labour.

As for ſuch Perſons who by the faculties of the mind only acquire Riches to themſelves, as Soldiers, Lawyers, Divines, Bankers, Retailers, Victuallers, *&c.* They tho' neceſſary Callings, are no Increaſers of the Nations Wealth, nor is the Kingdom more rich by the Fluctuating and Circulation of Money among ſuch than one of them would be by putting his Money out of one Cheſt into another, or ſhifting it from one pocket to another.

But where Soldiery becomes the Trade of a People, as among the

Switzers and *Scots* it is, who ſerve abroad for money, and brings it home to purchaſe Lands there, it is of equall benefit to any other Labour, by Increaſing the Rates and value of the reall Wealth of thoſe Countries, which as amongſt all other Civill Nations is Land and Houſes.

I doubt not but the Reader by this time will perceive, that in what way ſoever a Man Employs his Labour and Induſtry either at home or abroad, ſo that at laſt he Increaſes the value of the Real Wealth of the Nation, he is in the proportion of ſuch Increaſe a benefit thereunto.

And on the Contrary, he that Labours not at all, or ſo much as not to Increaſe the Intrinſick value of his Countrey, is juſt good for Nothing.

To leave this Truth plain beyond diſpute, I beg the doubter but to Conſider, that if all the Laborious People of the Kingdom left working, and were to live upon the naturall produce of it, to be diſtributed to them in equall proportions by way of Charity, as Pariſh-poor and Beggars are now ſupported, how long it would be before the Nation became neceſſitous, Naked and Starving, and Conſequently the Land and Houſes worth nothing.

A ſhort Reflexion would make him ſenſible that a very few years of Idleneſs would Compleat the matter, whence he can no longer doubt, but that Labour and Induſtry rightly apply'd, is the Sole cauſe of the Wealth of a Nation, that Money is only the Scales or Touchſtone to weigh or value things by: And that Land it ſelf would yield no Rent but as Labour Employ'd for the ſupport of Luxuries, as well as neceſſities, did find a due Incouragement and Increaſe.

In ſhort it is plain hereby,

1. That Reall Wealth is Land and Houſes;

2. That Imaginary Wealth is the Laborious People.

3. That the Reall and Imaginary Wealth both Increaſe only, as Induſtry is rightly apply'd by great Numbers of Laborious People: And not by Increaſe of People only.

4. And the Increaſe of People willfully or Accidentally Idle, is ſo far from being National Riches, that it is the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt way to Inevitable Poverty, Famine and Nakedneſs, and muſt decay the value as well of the Reall as Imaginary Wealth of the Nation, proportionably to the decay of Induſtry.

Thus Civil Wars, Diſorders, and Changes in the Government of Nations, by the many which become Soldiers, and others that ceaſe Labouring in their Trades and Induſtry, for want of ſecurity, inſenſibly

ſibly impoveriſh Countries, much more than thoſe ſlain in ſuch Changes do; By reaſon that thoſe that dye, as they add nothing, do conſume nothing in the Common-wealth; whereas the Idle Living, add nothing, and conſume much to its Deſtruction.

I ſhall ſay no more therefore on this Subject, but haſten to the Conſideration of which hands are beſt Employ'd to the Advantage of the Wealth of this Kingdom, as our Trade and Negociation now ſtand.

Firſt then, the Premiſſes conſider'd we may lay down as an undeniable Verity, That thoſe Men who add moſt by their Labour to the Increaſe of the Intrinſick Wealth of the Nation, either Reall or Imaginary, and Conſume leaſt, are beſt Employ'd.

Again, on the Contrary, thoſe that Conſume moſt and add leaſt, are worſt Imploy d.

Now it will be Impoſſible in the ſhort method I deſign, to Enumerate and clearly diſtinguiſh between every Sort of Employment, wherefore I ſhall content my ſelf only to hint at ſome few ways wherein men ſeem to do little, and yet are well employ'd, And others wherein they are very buſy and Laborious to little or no purpoſe.

To begin then as nature did in the Cultivators of Land and Conductors of Cattle.

The Husbandmans Life not only ſeems but is extreamly Carefull, Laborious and Painfull: The Graſier and Shepheards on the Contrary, both ſeems and is a very Careleſs quiet and eaſy way of ſpending time.

Yet tho' the firſt ſort are uſually paid moſt wages, and conſequently can afford and do conſume moſt upon themſelves, the laſt notwithſtanding are of much more value to the Comonwealth.

For 200. Sheep or 20. Cows require but 40. Acres of good Land, and one mans eaſy Care for a years paſture, the profit of which by the Increaſe of Lambs, Calves, Wooll, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. And the Meliorating the Wooll by Manufacture, is of four times at leaſt more advantage to the Comonwealth, then the ſame number of Acres imploy'd in Tillage, which requires the conſtant Drudgery of two men and four horſes at leaſt; beſides that the greateſt part of what is produced by Tillage is conſumed in the Nation: whereas Manufactured Wooll from Sheep, Tallow, Leather, Shoos, Butter, Cheeſe, Salt, Beef, and many other things, ariſing from paſture, are Staple Comodities for Tranſportation, which fetch us back Silver, Gold, and foreign goods, uſefull to the Ornament and Pleaſure, if not neceſſities of Life: I muſt affirm, the Comodity which is Tranſported is the only true increaſe

of

of Nationall Strength and Wealth, and that ſort of Reformers who would have nothing made, us'd, or conſumed, but what Nature abſolutely requires, are but ſhort-ſighted and narrow thinkers as well in Politicks as Religion: And tho' they may adorn their opinions and Arguments with the names of *Lycurgus*, *Cato*, and other Sour-Reaſoners, yet all their Diſcourſes tend to no more but to reduce Mankind back to be Sheep-skin-Wearers, Acorn-Eaters, and water-Drinkers: again, The bountifull God of nature, ſupplying every Country of the World with what is fully ſufficient to ſuſtain Life.

Therefore to ſay, as many are apt to do, that *England* can live of it ſelf without the aſſiſtance of any Forreign Nation, is to give it not the leaſt Commendation beyond any other Country: but to ſay, and that truly, that *England* by the Induſtry of its Inhabitants imploy'd in Shipping, Plantations, Mines, Manufactures, Paſtures and Tillage, doth not only abound in all ſorts of Commodities, as Native Meat, Drink, Cloaths, Houſes and Coaches, fit for the neceſſities, Eaſe, and Ornaments of Life, but can outvy moſt Nations of the World for the vaſt plenty in varieties of Wines, Spices, Drugs, Fruits, Silks, Pictures, Muſick, Silver, Gold, Precious Stones, and all other the ſupports of Grandeur and Delight, That is to ſpeak it, a truly Civiliz'd and Glorious Nation indeed.

And tho' ſome Men thro' falſe and envious Opticks look upon theſe things as baits to Vice, and occaſions of Effeminency, if they would but impartially examine the truth of matters, they would diſcern them to be the true Spurs to Virtue, Valour and the Elevation of the mind, as well as the juſt rewards of Induſtry. For,

It is certain, upon a right Scrutiny, a man ſhall finde more profaneneſs, diſhoneſty, Drunkenneſs and Debauchery, practiſed in naſty Rags, bare-walls and Alehouſes, than in rich Habits, Pallaces, or Taverns; and as Plenty, Splendour, and Grandure, can have no other Fountain but Wiſdom, Induſtry and good conduct; ſo Shabbineſs, Indigence and Contempt, rarely ſpring from any thing but Folly, Idleneſs and Vice: And where it happens otherways by unexpected Frauds, ſhipwracks, Fires, Inundations or maymes, the ſhame of ſuffering it becomes the Nations reproach, ſince the rarity of theſe Accidents would make the Burden which Cruſhes a particular Scarce felt when laid by a right method on the whole Comonwealth, as I ſhall endeavour to make appear hereafter.

But before I return again to the conſideration which part of the people are beſt employ'd for the publick good, I muſt from what is premiſed,

miſed, Conclude, that as all who are not miſcheivouſly employ'd or totally Idle, are of ſome Benefit to the Comonwealth, and ſhould find due encouragement, ſo thoſe ought to be moſt protected and leaſt diſcouraged by the Laws who are moſt uſefully buſy for the Increaſing the Value of the Real and Imaginary Wealth of the Nation: Thus as I ſaid before, the Shepheard and Grazier is to be preferr'd before the Plowman and Thraſher.

So the Miner is to be preferr'd to the Shepheard and Grazier, becauſe all he produces for Tranſportation, is clear Gains to the publick, whereas but part of the others doth ſo: The Marriner is to be prefer'd to the Miner, and the like to ſuch who Contribute moſt to forreign Trade, but in *England* the Merchant-Adventurer is to be encouraged and prefer'd before the Marriner, or any other Artiſt, Trade or Calling whatſoever: For tho' his labour ſeems a Recreation rather than a Toil, and conſiſts chiefly in a regular Methodizing of a punctuall Rotation of Credit, and change of Commodities from one place to another; Yet conſidering that the whole produce of Nature and Art would be but dead matter without a proper motion to Convey it to its true end which is Conſumption: All other Callings receive their Vigour, Life, Strength and Increaſe from the Merchant, Commodities riſing in Eſteem or Value as they are rightly diſtributed from place to place, and looſing their very nature as well as worth, when by overſtocking the Market they become Contemptible, or periſh for want of uſe or conſumption: Wherefore our Laws ſhould be ſo contriv'd as never in the leaſt to diſcourage or check any Conception or Endeavour of the Venturing Merchant, to whoſe Extravagant and hazardous, as well as prudent and cautious uudertaking, this Nation chiefly Ows all its Wealth and Glory: And it is a mighty pitty that all Laws for Cuſtome and Dutyes, as well as for regulating Navigation, Erecting Companies, Judging Maritine Controverſies, granting Letters of Mart and Repriſeall, and for Encouraging Manufactures and Societies of Handicrafts, ſhould not firſt be debated, prepar'd and begun in a great Councell of Trade, to conſiſt of members Elected and Deputed by every Plantation, Marritime, City, Company, Conſtitution and Trade, which would deſire to ſend Members to it: And from thence after a free and full examination be repreſented to both Houſes of Parliament for their Approbation or Diſlike.

For Trade is of that Nature, that it requires frequent Pruning, Lopping, and Reſtraining, as well as Cultivating and Cheriſhing, and thrives much better under proper and rightly apply'd Reſtrains, Duties,

ties, Taxes and Exciſes, than in a general looſeneſs, which being ſo, is it poſſible that a poſitive Tonnage and Poundage like ours ſhould hit all Accidents, attend the Changes and Mutations it receives, both at Home by the Plenty and Scarcity of our Native Commodities, or Abroad by the like Ebbs and Floods as well as the Laws in Forreign Nations made or chang'd concerning it.

Or how indeed can the Divines, Lawyers, Nobility, and great Gentry of the Kingdom be Nice Judges, and right diſtinguiſhers between the Claſhing and Tangling Intereſts of ſo great a Miſtery as Univerſal Trade, when few or none of them have ever had the leaſt occaſion to Inſpect or Experiment any part of it.

The defect therefore of a free and able Council of Trade in this Nation, tho' it cannot deſtroy, yet wonderfully retards and hinders the Natural and Genuine Increaſe of Navigation and Merchandiſe, and conſequently of Rents.

But for want of that, I will preſume to go on in Explaining the Right and Wrong Application of Mens Induſtry, as they reſpect in generall the Wealth and Grandeur of the Nation, or in particular the Intereſt of Our *American* Collonies, in many of which I doubt not to demonſtrate. One Labouring Man is of more Advantage to *England*, tho' out of it, than any thirty the like kind can be within it.

To Explain which, I will take a ſhort view of our Sugar-Plantations, and the nature of that Trade, to whoſe particular advantage and Intereſt after the Kingdoms, I principally ſacrifice my preſent pains.

I therefore with all Submiſſiveneſs imaginable, deſire Our Legiſlators to Conſider,

1. That the greateſt Conſumption of Sugar is made by themſelves, and the reſt of the Rich and Opulent People of the Nation, tho' uſefull to all degrees of Men.

2. That the quantity of yearly produced within thoſe Sugar Collonies, is not leſs then 45000 Tons Engliſh Tonnage, each comprehending 20*l.* to the Ton.

3. That about the Moiety of that is Conſumed in *England*

4. That the Medium of the Value of conſumed Sugar at the preſent price Current is 4*d.* a pound.

5. That the quantity Conſumed in the Nation at that price amounts to 800000*l.* Sterling, and upwards.

6. That the other Moiety ſent to Forreign Markets after it has Employ'd Seamen, and Earn'd Freight, is ſold for as much, and conſequently brings back to the Nation in Money or uſefull Goods Annually

800000*l.*

800000*l*, which is more than any one other Commodity doth.

7. Consider too, that before Sugars were produced in our own Collonies, it bore three times the Price it doth now, so that by the same Consumption, at the same price, except we made it our selves, we should be forced to give in Money, or Moneys worth, as Native Commodities and Labour 2400000*l*. for the Sugar we spend, or be without it to such a degree of disadvantage of well Living, as that Retrenchment would amount to; We must Consider too, that the Spirits arising from *Mellasses* which is sent from the Sugar Collonies to the other Collonies, and to *England*, which if all were sold in *England* and turn'd into Spirits, it would Amount annually to above 500000*l*. at half the price the like quantity of *Brandy* from *France* would cost, and will yearly Increase as *Brandies* are discouraged, and by most are held wholsomer for the Body, which is observed by the long living of those in the Collonies that are great Drinkers of Rum, which is the Spirits we make of *Mellasses*, and the short living of those that are great Drinkers of *Brandy* in those parts.

The *Indico* coming thence amounts to 50000*l*. *per Ann.*

The *Logwood* for which we formerly paid the *Spaniards* 100*l*. *per Ton*, now comes under 15*l*. and amounts to 1000 Ton Annually.

The *Cotton* for which we paid formerly above 12*d*. *per pound*, now comes at 5*d* ½. *per pound*. and amounts to 1000 Ton *per Annum*, besides the Hands it Employs in Manufacturing it.

The *Ginger* amounts to 4000 Ton *per annum*, and is not the Sixth part in price of what the Nation paid formerly for that Commodity, or for *Pepper* instead of it.

Not to speak of the many *Druggs*, *Woods*, *Cocoa*, *Piemonto*, and *Spices*, besides *Raw-Hides* &c. which comes from those parts, nor of the great quantity of the Gold, and Silver we have of the *Spaniards* for *Negroes*, and English Manufactory carryed by our sloops from our Collonies to them.

So that it is demonstration, the Nation saves and gains by the People Employ'd in those Collonies 400000000*l*. Sterling *per An.*

Now if it be Consider'd that in all those *Sugar Collonies* there is not 600000 white Men Women and Children, it necessarily must follow, that one with another above what they consume each of them Earns for the Publick above 60*l*. *per ann.*

Whereas if the Rent be 10020000,
And the Conſumption 50000000,

Then by reducing Labour and Conſumption to a proper Ballance with the produce of Rents, and ſuppoſing the Imaginary Wealth of the whole Kingdom to Increaſe in time of Peace, the Tenth part Annually that will be but four Millions, which does not Amount to Twelve Shillings a Head clear Increaſe of Wealth, One with another, above neceſſary and conſtant Expences, from which it follows beyond Controverſy, that hands Employ'd in the Sugar-Plantations are one with another of 130 times the value to the Common-wealth than thoſe which ſtay at home.

To this I eaſily foreſee will be readily Objected, for want of Conſideration, that thoſe there conſume nothing of Native Commodities, which if they did as theſe do which ſtay at home, their Conſumption would amount to 3900000*l.* Annually at *6l. 10s. 0d. per Head.* as afore-ſaid, and would conſequently Increaſe the Rents at leaſt a Fourth of that.

But to this I muſt reminde the Reader that I have demonſtrated, that whatever is Conſum'd by Idle Men, can never Increaſe either the Reall or Imaginary Wealth of the Nation, and that nothing but the Overplus or Conſumption can be reckon'd Additional Wealth, which according to our Reaſonable Computation cannot be above 2*s.* a head, one with another, So that if we would grant that thoſe in the Collonies did Conſume nothing of our home produce, the loſs by want of them here could amount only to 1200000*s.* Annually, which is 60000*l.*

But on the contrary, this is ſo far from being true, that one with another each White Man, Woman, and Child, reſiding in the Sugar-Plantations, occaſions the Conſumption of more of our Native Commodities, and Manufactures then ten at home do.

This cannot be doubted by thoſe that will Conſider the great quantity of Beef, Pork, Salt, Fiſh, Butter, Cheeſe, Corn and Flower, as well as Beer, Engliſh-Mum, Syder and Coals, conſtantly ſent thither, of which Commodities for the uſe of themſelves or Blacks, they have little or none of their own produce: Conſider too, that all their Powder, Cannon, Swords, Guns, Pikes, and other Weapons, their Cloaths, Shoes, Stockings, Sadles, Bridles, Coaches, Beds, Chairs, Stools, Pictures, Clocks, and Watches, their Pewter, Braſs,

Braſs, Copper and Iron Veſſells and Inſtruments, their Sail-Cloath, and Cordage, of which in their Building, Shipping, Mills, Boyling and Diſtilling-Houſes, Field-Labour and Domeſtick uſes, they Conſume infinite quantities, all which are made in and ſent from *England*: Not to ſpeak of the great number of Drudging and Saddle Horſes they take off, as well as of that ſort of People who would in their Youth be conſumed in Idleneſs, or worſe at home, but there become uſefull to Increaſe the Nations, Numbers, and Wealth both.

Beſides, it muſt be remembred, that there is in thoſe Collonies at leaſt 5 Blacks for one White, ſo that allowing the Whites to be 60000, the Blacks muſt be 300000, all whoſe Cloaths and European Proviſions coming from *England*, Increaſes the Conſumption of our Native Commodities and Manufactures in a large Proportion. But the Axes, Hoes, Saws, Rollers, Shovells, Knives, Nails, and other Iron Inſtruments and Tools as well as the Boylers, Stills, and other uſefull Veſſells of Copper, Lead and Pewter, which are waſted, Conſumed and Deſtroy'd by the Induſtry and profitable Labour of that mighty Number of Slaves, are not eaſily to be Computed, but muſt plainly and beyond all Contradiction be of great Advantage to the Nation as well as to thoſe Induſtrious People Employ'd at home in making them.

If theſe things with the vaſt quantity of Shipping that thoſe Collonies Employ, be in the leaſt reflected on, it will open the Eyes of the moſt unexperienced Perſon in the Trade, to diſcern the mighty advantage the Nation receives from thoſe People which go to thoſe Collonies, and the great Obligation there lyes upon our Legiſlators to Study their due Improvement, ſafety and Increaſe.

For beſides all the benefits demonſtrably coming to the Nation as aforeſaid, They are in ſome kind Maritime Armies, ever ready not only to Defend themſelves but to puniſh the Exorbitances, Incroachments, Piracies, and Depradations of any Inſulting Neighbouring Nation; Nor is it to be imagin'd in what Awe thoſe Collonies rightly managed might keep our *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Dutch*, *Daniſh*, *Brandenburgh* and *Hamburgh* Rivalls, for Wealth and Maritime Power from Entring into any Treaties, Alliances or Undertakings, to our Diſadvantage.

What has been ſaid ſhall ſerve for an Introduction in Generall

to the more particular parts of the Nations Intereſt in the *American* Trade, and the due Encouragement it ought to receive from the Laws which may naturally make us the moſt Rich and Floriſhing part, as well as the undoubted Arbitrators of *Europe*, if not of all the Maritime Nations of the World. And in the next place, I will ſhow what Diſcouragements thoſe Collonies lye under at preſent.

CAP.

CAP. II.

THe better to Explain this to every Capacity, it will be neceſſary to make a ſhort *Hiſtory of Sugar*, that the Invention, Planting, and divers uſes of it being known, the Reader may thereby make a more perfect Judgement of the Nationall Intereſt therein.

To which purpoſe it is firſt to be Conſider'd, that the *Europeans* 500 years ſince, were perfect Strangers to the uſe of it, and ſcarcely knew its name; but the *Venetians* about that time being the great Traders in *Eaſt-India* Spices, Gums, and Drugs, did amongſt other rarities introduce *Sugar*, which the Phyſitians ſoon found to anſwer all the ends of Honey, without many of its ill effects; So that it quickly became a Commodity in mighty eſteem, and though the price then was ten times more then now, yet it prevailed ſo faſt, and the Conſumption of it became ſo great, that an ill way of making, planting, and Curing of it, was about 300 years ſince found out and practiſed in *Greece*, and ſome other neighbour Nations, where the heat of the Sun could in any degree ripen the Cane.

But no Nation made ſo conſiderable a progreſs therein as the *Portugalls*, who having with ſome Succeſs, Improv'd the Art of Planting it in their *Affrican* Collonies and Illands, did at laſt make it their main Buſineſs in *Braſile*, becoming thereby the only Nation that ſet the price upon it to all the parts of the World, untill the *Hollanders* grew their Rivalls for Power and profit in that part of *America*.

But about 50 years ſince, during the war between thoſe two Nations in *Braſile*, a *Hollander* happen'd to arrive from thence upon our Iſland of *Barbados*, where though there were good *Sugar-Canes*, The Engliſh knew no other uſe of them than to make refreſhing Drink for that hot Climate, intending by planting Tobacco there,

to

to have equall'd those of the *Verina's*, on which, Ginger, Cotten and Indico they meant to rely; But this *Hollander* understanding Sugar, was by one Mr. *Drax*, and some other Inhabitants there drawn in to make Discovery of the Art he had to make it; since which time by the many ingenious men the last Civill war necessitated to seek their fortunes in that new world, there has been found out so many severall sorts of Mills, Coppers, Boylers, Stoves, Pots, and other Tools and Engins, for Planting and pressing the Canes, Boyling-up, Separating, Cleansing, and Purifying the Juice and Sugar, as well as for drawing Spirits of admirable use from the Mellasses, that we at present exceed all the Nations in the world in the true Improvement of that Noble Juice of the Cane, which next to that of the Vine, exceeds all the Liquors in the World. And as our Nation has been ever famous for Meliorating Inventions of all kinds, so in this we have gone so far, that notwithstanding the many Discouragements, those Planters do at present and have heretofore lain under, yet they apparently set the Price of it in all *Europe*, to the Kingdoms Pleasure, Glory, and Grandure; which are all more advanc'd by that, than by any other Commodity we deal in or produce, Wooll not excepted; as I doubt not but to Demonstrate beyond all Dispute before I end these Papers: which that I may the better do as well as show clearly the mighty Interest the nation has in preserving our *West-India* Collonies, I will give the Reader a clear and short Account of a Sugar, a Cotton, a Ginger, and Indico Plantation, as they are now managed in *Barbados*; and then set down a short Scheme of the raising and producing Tobacco, which though in it self perhaps not absolutely, if at all necessary to well Living, yet having prevail'd so far upon the Vitiated Humours of men, as we see it has, is of great concern to us, as well for bringing in Wealth as Employing multitudes of men in Manufacture and Navigation, which no man can Dispute but to be a true National Interest.

100 Acres of Land Employ'd in a Sugar-Plantation will require 50 Black Slaves and 7 white Servants to Manage it.

There must be 6 Horses and 8 Oxen for two Teams.

There must be an Overseer at 20*l. per annum*, a Boylor and Farrier at 20*l. per annum*, and a Carter at 12*l. per annum*.

20 of the 100 Acres must be set apart for Pasture, provisions, and

and a Nurſery for Canes to Plant with.

40 of the remaining Acres return a Crop one year, and 40 the next, and ſo alternatively, being Conſtantly now to be replanted after every Cutting, whereas when the ground was firſt broke up, the ſame Canes would yield two three or more Cuttings, before they were replanted, to the wonderfull eaſe and advantage of the firſt Planters.

There muſt be a Windmill which turns great Iron Rollers, between which the Cane is preſs'd.

There muſt be a Boiling-houſe, and in it Boylers, Coolers, Receivers, and Ciſterns, to which belong Ladles, Scummers, and Lamps, *&c.*

A Sill-houſe with Ciſterns, Stills, Worms, worm-Tubs, *&c.*

A Curing-houſe, with Earthen Sugar-pots, Drips and Ciſterns for Meſſaſſes.

A Drying-houſe with neceſſaries.

A Houſe for the neceſſary Fewell Employ'd in Boyling and Stilling.

A Houſe for Knocking out, Packing, and Storing of Sugar.

A Dwelling-houſe, with Houſes for Servants and Negroes.

A Houſe for Cattle, beſides Carts, Hooks, Hoes, and other Planting-Utenſills, the firſt coſt whereof will with utmoſt Husbandry amount to 5625*l.* the Wear and Tear whereof will not be leſs annually than 60*l.*

A Plantation of 100 Acres well ſtockt and provided as aforeſaid, and manag'd to its full height, without thoſe accidentall Caſualties which often, may probably produce annually 80 hogſheads of Sugar of 1000 pound weight each hogſhead, that is 2000 pound weight of Muſcovado Sugar from each Acre, and of Meſſaſſes 20 hogſheads of 700 pound weight each hogſhead.

This Sugar in the Iſland may be valued at 10*s.* *per* hundred, as it may be at home at 20*s.* that being as the price has gone ſince the additionall Duty was laid, the *Medium* of what Muſcovado Sugars have yielded; all which with the prime Coſt as well as the Meſſaſſes Rum, *&c.* ſhall be brought to a rationall and equall Ballance, after a little more has been ſaid of the manner of Planting, making and Refining Sugars.

The firſt thing is done to that ground deſign'd for planting, is with

with Hoes by the labour of Negro's to open and looſen the Surface of the Earth to Prepare in for the Plants.

There is commonly two Seaſons, Rainy and Dry, the Rainy begins in *May* or *June*, and ends in *December* or *January*, all which is ſpent in Hoeing, Dunging and Planting the Canes.

The Dry Seaſon is ſpent in Cutting the Canes, Grinding them at the Mills, Boyling up the Liquor, and making thereof Muſcovado Sugar; All which muſt of neceſſity go hand in hand together, for the Cane muſt be preſt as it is Cut, or the Juice drys in it; The Juice muſt be boyled up to it's proper Conſiſtency for grayning as ſoon as preſt, or it will Sour and periſh; The grayn muſt be Separated ſpeedily, whilſt hot, from the Mollaſſes, or they will Cling together, ferment and grow Sour in time again, or be at beſt but fit for the Still.

But as for Refining and Stilling, that any Seaſon is fit for.

Thus it is to be obſerv'd, that the Blacks are always Employ'd either in Hoeing, Dunging, and Planting in the wet, or in Cutting, Carrying, Grinding, Boyling, *&c.* In the Dry Seaſons.

There are divers ways of producing new Plants, as by cutting the Root of an Old Plant, by laying a Cane in the Ground, By Planting the Top of a Cane cut off, or by taking a ſhoot from a Knot of a Cane, many of which will have 5 or 6 that put in the ground will grow; But the generall way is from thoſe have been ſet in the Nurſeries, for from one Root there will proceed divers ſhoots, all fit for Planting as 9 or 10, and ſometimes 20.

The ground being prepar'd, Holes are made therein, and in every Hole Dung put, and then a Plant, which in 18 Months or thereabouts, becomes fit for Cutting, ſo that half a year being ſpent in graduall planting, 40 Acres, 6 or 7 Acres a month will be ready Succeſſively to be Cut in the proper Seaſon, ſo that 80. Acres is a juſt Employment for the continuall Labour 50 Blacks and 7 Whites in the field, and for 3 others for overſeeing, Carting and Curing the Plantations.

When the Canes are preſt by paſſing through the Rollers of a Windmill, there runs from thence a great quantity of pleaſant Juice, which being put into Boylers by the heat of the fire, having Evaporated the Flegm or Watry matter to ſuch a time as it becomes of a proper Conſiſtency, then they throw it into a mixture

conſiſting

conſiſting of ſome materiall fit to cleanſe it and prepare it for graining; all the time it is Boyling with large Copper Scummers they take off the Scum which conſtantly riſes in great quantities, untill it be fit to Empty into Coolers, from whence it is again lifted into Earthen Pots with holes in their bottoms, and Pots they call Drips under them, for receiving the Moiſture call'd Mellaſſes, which in about a months time will be ſeparated from that which is then called Muſcovado Sugar, being of a pale Yellow Collour; this is then knockt out of the pots, and put into Caskes for Transportation.

This ſort of Mellaſſes is either Boyl'd up again to extract from it a ſort of a Duskiſh pale grey Sugar call'd Panneels, or ſent in Cask for *England* as the Sugar is.

The Scum that ariſes with all the waſhings of the Boylers, Coolers, Pots, and other Inſtruments Employ'd in that Buſineſs, is preſerv'd in great Ciſterns where it will ferment and becomes fit for ſtilling.

The Spirits proceeding from Mellaſſes and this effect of good Husbandry is called Rum, being a Noble Intoxicating Liquor, which the Negroes as well as Engliſh Servants but too much delight in, and the Planters themſelves prefer ſome ſorts of it to any Brandy either for Punch or other uſes where Spirits are needed.

And with truth this may be ſaid of the Sugar Cane, that it produces nothing but what is of great uſe to well living; The Vertues of Mellaſſes formerly ſold only in Apothecary's Shops by the name of Treacle being now ſo well known both to the Diſtiller and Brewer, that a great part of their Eſtates are owing to it: Nor can it be imagin'd how many new ways are found dayly for Venting and Conſuming uſefully the various products of a Sugar-Plantation: The ſeverall Shapes it appears in at Chriſtenings, Banquets, and Rich mens Tables, being but the leaſt of its good qualities, tho' of great Delight as well as Ornament, and ſhould the art of making it be ſo diſcouraged as to take its next flight to the *Dutch* or *French*, as it did from *Portugall* to Us, The loſs would prove of the like Conſequence, which is no leſs than the Decay of the greateſt part of their Shipping, and the fall of half their Revenues: they being forc'd to abate 10 *per Cent.* Duty lately, to get ſome to be Exported, and that with little or no Succeſs.

And yet inevitably this miſchief will happen if great Care be not taken to preſerve thoſe Collonies.

But to return to the further Hiſtory of a Plantation, and making and Improving Sugars, it is to be remembred, that to compleat a Sugar-work of an hundred Acres, the neceſſary Charges as aforeſaid will be———In 50 Blacks 1250*l.*

7 white Servants beſides three Artiſts which are pay'd wages—— 150*l.*

5 Horſes—— 125*l.*

8 Bullocks—— 100*l.*

Land, Houſes, Mills, Veſſells, *&c.*

All other Tools and Implements 4000*l.*

In all 5625*l.*

Which Plantation Ordinarily may produce as aforeſaid anually in Muſcovado Sugars Eighty Hogſheads: In Mellaſſes twenty eight Hogſheads, both which in the *Weſt-Indies* at the *Medium* of the price now currant, will yield five hundred and forty pound. So that 10 white Servants Employ'd as aforeſaid Earn five hundred and forty pound, which is fifty four pound a head.

The *Engliſh* Cloaths and proviſions ſuch 10 whites and 50 Blacks conſume is one with another forty ſhillings a head, and amounts to an hundred and twenty pound.

The Wear and Tear of the Tools and neceſſary Supplys of a Plantation from *England* is as leaſt ſixty pound.

In all an hundred and eighty pound.

So that conſidering the 10 white people in a Plantation are the Sole cauſe of that Conſumption it is eighteen pound each, which as I ſaid before is a far greater Conſumption on the navive Commodities and Manufactures of the Nation than Labourers at home make, and it ought to be conſider'd too, that in this Ballance I have not Computed the firſt coſt of the Materials that ſet all theſe uſefull Labourers at work, nor the profit has ariſen to Navigation, and the Merchant Adventurer in ſending thither near a Million of Slaves, whoſe firſt coſt to the Planter has been Eight Millions of Pounds at leaſt, and took off of our Manufacture to buy them in *Guinnea* about Forty Shillings *per head*, which amounts to Two Millions; Not to ſpeak in this place neither of the Rich Cloaths, Houſhold Stuff, and other neceſſaries, the Maſters of theſe Numerous Servants

Servants consume upon themselves, which without an Exact Account or Scrutiny into every particular, must satisfy the most prejudic'd Person that the People there both for Addition of Wealth and Consumption of Commodities are better Employ'd than those which remain at Home.

But to add to a Plantation as aforesaid the advantage arising by Refining Sugar, there must be laid out in a Refining-House, Coppers, and all other necessary Materials, at least Three hundred Pound. There must be Ten Blacks, and no Whites if the Boylers can Refine which is easy to Learn.

The manner thus they take their *Muscovado* Sugars, and put it into Refining Coppers mixt with Lime-Water, where as it Boyls over a gentle Fire, much Scum will arise, which is taken off constantly till it become to a sufficient Consistency for mixing it with the whites of Eggs well beaten up, which being done in order to Clarify it 'tis then boyl'd to a proper height for Refined Sugar, and turn'd off into Coolers, and thence put into such Pots with their Dripps as was said of *Muscovado*'s: When these Pots have stood Dripping Eight or Ten Days, then Clay properly temper'd is put upon the Pots, which is renew'd as occasion requires, this forces down all the Melasses, so that in Seven or Eight Weeks these Sugar's so Improv'd will be fit for Casking.

The Melasses thus Issuing from Refined Sugar is Boyled up again, and Operated as before, produces a Sugar called Bastard-whites, the last Melasses being only fit for the Still.

Note that little or Nothing of the quantity is wasted in the Refining, but remains in Sugar Melasses or Liquor, from which Spirit is produced.

But let be observed too, that by the Additional Stock of Ten Blacks which cost two hundred pound; House and necessaries, three hundred pound; necessary Provision for the Ten Blacks Twenty pound Wear and Tear Thirty pound; Interest for the first Cost at Ten pound *per Cent.* Fifty pound: In all a hundred pound *per Ann.* A Plantation is near doubled. So that is is plainly the Interest of the Nation that all Sugars should be fully Meliorated before Exportation: the profit whereof would be above 50 *per Cent.* annually to the Nation more then now it is, and is all gain'd by the *Hollanders* and *Hamburgers*, who Refine Our Muscovado Sugar in their

Countrys cheaper by the draw back upon Muſcovado's than we can; So that they underſell us in all Forreign Markets in our own Commodity, moſt of the Sugar ſpent in *Germany*, *France*, and other Nations being Refined; The profit of which Meliorating as well as the Navigation being loſt to the Kingdom: And it is as reaſonable to ſuffer Wooll to go out unmanufactur'd as Muſcovado Sugar. But more of this when I come to propoſe the Method for preſerving the Collonies, and this ſhall likewiſe ſuffice to explain the Nature and produce of a Sugar Plantation.

Thus it appears by all that has been ſpoken of a Sugar-Plantation, that the firſt coſt beſides the labour, skill, Care, and Induſtry amounts to Five Thouſand Six Hundred Twenty Five pound. And that the produce thereof at the preſent uſuall price Currant of Sugar amounts not to Five hundred and Forty pound; out of which Deduct the conſtant charge One hundred and Fifty pound, *per Annum*, the yearly value is Three hundred and Ninety pound, which is not 7 *per Cent.* for his Money, and yet this neither is not certain to ariſe. The making of Sugars, and fitting them for Market being Subject to many Contingencies more then are ſet down in the Hiſtory before-going; For the Plants in the ground are very often ſubject to be devoured, wounded, and torn by Aunts, or undermined and deſtroy'd at the Roots by Mugworms. Too much Rain, or too much Drought, in either Seaſon, is a certain Diminution of the Crop, if not a totall Deſtruction of the Plants; nay, if the Rains come too late, which often happens, a whole years planting is loſt: when all theſe Miſchiefs are eſcaped, and the Canes of a conſiderable heighth, then are they liable to be twiſted, broke, and totally ſpoyl'd by the furious Hurricanes, that once in Three or Four years like a Fit of an Ague ſhakes the whole Iſlands, not only does the Crops an Injury, but ſometimes tumbles down and Levells their Mills, Work-Houſes, and ſtrongeſt Buildings; But eſcaping all theſe, as the Canes ripen they grow more and more Combuſtible, and are thereby Subject to the Malice and Drunken Rages of Angry and deſperate run-a-way Negroes, as well as ſo many other Accidents of Fire; The fury whereof when once got into a Field of Canes, is extreamly quick, terrible and ſcarcely to be reſiſted before it has deſtroy'd the whole parcell; But when they are brought to full perfection for Cutting, and the Planters expectation as ripe as they,

they, if unſeaſonable Rains happen, or that no winds blow, then do they all Rot and Periſh on the Ground: The Slaves and Servants all ſtand Idle looking upon their Maſters decaying Fortune, and at laſt are only Employ'd in clearing the Ground again from that uſeleſs Rubbiſh in which all that years hope is periſhed: Not to mention after all theſe miſchiefs under which moſt Planters have many times ſmarted, all thoſe Accidents, or Storms and Pirates in bringing their Commodity to Market, nor which is worſt of all, their loſs by breaking Cuſtomers, who not only run away with all their Produce, but with the Freight, Factoridge, and Cuſtoms, which has been paid for thoſe Sugars they were truſted with, thereby ſubjecting the Induſtrious Planter to new and unforeſeen debts and Intereſt for them, from whence he expected the reward of all his Labour: Nay, beſides all has been ſaid, ſometimes diſeaſes amongſt Slaves and Cattell, will in a very ſhort time ſweep away a whole years Profit, beſides the Conſtant Charge of recruiting the Natural decay of all living Creatures.

Cotton is a Commodity of great Value, and the planting it of mighty Advantage to theCommon-wealth, becauſe we have it thereby ⅓ price leſs then formerly, when we Imported it from Forreign parts: Its uſes are too many to be Enumerated in the ſhort Method I have propoſed, Let it ſuffice therefore to ſay, that the Spinning, Weaving, and working it into Fuſtians, Dymitties, and many other uſefull Stuffs, beſides what is ſpent in Candles, Employs a Multitude of hands, and gains the Nation annually.

The manner of Planting it is thus A hundred Acres of Land clear'd and kept for a Cotton-Plantation requires Fifty hands, whereof Five muſt be White Men-Servants for the benefit of the Militia, otherwiſe all but two might be Black Slaves.

It is planted in Rows as our *London*-Gardners ſet their Damask Roſes to make money of them, and riſes to much about the ſame heighth in one year; and ſome few months time after its ſeeds are put into the Ground, which is to be done in the wet Seaſon, when Sugar-Canes are Planting; but ſometimes it begins ſooner, or later, according to the Judgment of the Experienc't Overſeer? But the ſame hands Employ'd in Sugar can never be Employ'd in Planting and gathering the Cotton, for when it is ripe, and the little Bags it is Contained in are Opening, it is a conſtant Labour and

and Attendance from Morning to Night for the Servants to go to and again in the Intervalls between the Rows its Planted in, to take them at a Critical time, Otherwiſe it immediately dammages.

There are two ſorts of it called Ravell or Vine, that is Yellow or White, the yellow is generally eſteem'd the largeſt Staple.

An Acre of ground Planted therewith may produce from Four hundred to Two hundred pound weight according as it hits, So that a hundred Acres well look'd after may produce Thirty Thouſand pound weight of Cotton, which at *6d.* a pound as it may yield, amounts to 150*l.*

Ginger is a uſefull Spice for many things, and in ſeveral Caſes ſo Anſwers the End of Pepper, that it is obſerv'd to riſe and fall as that does.

It's planted by taking ſmall pieces from the great Races, and placing them orderly in Trenches or Holes, as our Gardners plant Peaſe, and it is done in the ſame Seaſons that they plant Sugar-Canes.

An Acre of Right Ground well planted will produce Two thouſand pound weight of *Ginger*, which by its Bulk in *Engliſh* Tonnage, is accounted 2 Tons at leaſt.

A hundred Acres requires Seventy Five hands be they Black or White Servants, but there muſt by the Laws always be a ſufficient Number of White-Men-Servants in proportion to the Black-ſlaves, otherwiſe all Blacks would ſerve, which is much Cheaper then the Other.

I have not ſet down all the Caſualties *Cotton* and *Ginger*-Plantations are ſubject to, for fear of ſwelling my Treatiſe beyond its deſigned Bulk, therefore let it ſuffice to ſay, they are ſubject to many, tho' not the ſame Caſualties, both from the Alteration of Seaſons and other Matters as Sugars are.

Indico is more produced in *Jamaica* than in any other Collony by reaſon of the great quantity of *Savanna*-Lands there, for it thrives beſt in light Sandy ground, ſuch as thoſe *Savanna*'s or great Plains be: The ſeed of it from whence it is raiſed is Yellow, and round, ſomething leſs than a Fitch or Tare, The ground being made light by Hoeing Trenches are made therein, like thoſe our Gardeners prepare for Peaſe, in which the ſeed is put about *March*, which grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in freſh broken ground will

Spire

Spire up to about three Foot high, but in others not more than Eighteen Inches, the ſtalk is full of Leaves of a deep Green colour, and will from its firſt Sowing yield Nine Crops in one year: when it is ripe they cut it and in proportionable Fats ſteep it twenty-four hours, then they clear it from the firſt water, and put it into proper Ciſterns, where it is carefully beaten, and then is permitted to ſettle about eighteen hours: In theſe Ciſterns are ſeveral Taps which let the clear water run out, and the Thick is put into Linnen-Bags of about three foot long and half a foot wide, made commonly of *Ozenbrig*-Cloath, which being hang'd up, all the liquid part drips away: When it will drip no longer it is put into Wooden Boxes about three foot long and fourteen Inches wide, and an Inch and a half deep: Theſe boxes they place in the Sun till it grows too hot, and then take them in till the extream heat is over, continuing thus to do till it is ſufficiently Dry: In Land that proves proper for *Indico*, the Labour of one hand in a years time may produce between eighty and an hundred pound weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen pound *per annum*, to the Planter, if no accident happen: For *Indico* as well as all other Commodities of thoſe parts is ſubject to many, thoſe moſt common to it are Blaſting and worms, to which it is very Subject.

Cacoa is now no longer a Commodity to be regarded in our Collonies, tho' at firſt it was the principall Invitation to the peopling *Jamaica*: For thoſe walks the *Spaniards* left behind them there, when we Conquer'd it, produc'd ſuch prodigious profit with little trouble that Sr. *Thomas Muddiford* and ſeverall others ſet up their reſts to grow wealthy therein, and fell to Planting much of it, which the *Spaniſh* Slaves who remained in the Illand allways foretold it would never Thrive, and ſo it happen'd; for tho' it promiſed fair and throve finely for five or ſix years, yet ſtill at that Age when ſo long Hopes and Care had been waſted about it, wither'd and Dy'd away, by ſome unaccountable Cauſe; tho' they impute it to a Black-Worm or Grub which they find clinging to its Root. The manner of planting it is in Order like our Cherry-Gardens, which Tree when grown up it much reſembles: It delights in ſhade, ſo that by every Tree they place one of *Plantain*, which produces a fruit nouriſhing and wholeſome for their Negro's: they by Hoeing and weeding keep their *Cacoa* walks clear from Graſs continually,

continually, and it begins to bear at three, four or five years old, and did it not allmoſt conſtantly Dye before, would come to perfection at fifteen years growth, and laſt till thirty, thereby becoming the moſt profitable Tree in the World, there having been above two hundred pound *Sterling* made in one year of an Acre of it: But the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards* being gone by age, and few new thriving, as the *Spaniſh Negro's* foretold, little or none now is produc'd worthy the care and pains in planting and expecting it. Thoſe Slaves give a Superſtitious Reaſon for its not Thriving, many Religious rites being perform'd at its Planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to ſee: But it is probable, that wary Nation as they remov'd the art of making *Cocheaneal*, and Curing *Venelloes* into their Inland-Provinces which were the Commodities of thoſe Iſlands in the *Indians* time, and forbad the opening of any Mines in them for fear ſome Maritine Nation might thereby be Invited to the Conquering them, ſo they might likewiſe in their tranſplanting *Cacoa* from the *Caracus* and *Guatemala* conceal willfully ſome ſecret in its planting from their Slaves, leſt it might teach them to ſet up for themſelves, by being able to produce a Commodity of ſuch excellent uſe for the ſupport of mans life, with which alone and water, ſome perſons have been neceſſitated to live 10 weeks together without finding the leaſt diminution of either Health or Strength: But tho' much more might be ſaid yet this ſhall ſuffice for the Hiſtory of *Cacoa* with this addition only, that it grows on the Trees in Bags or Cods of Greeniſh, Red, or Yellow Colours, every Cod having in it three, four, or five Kernells about the bigneſs and ſhape of ſmall Cheſnuts, which are ſeparated from each other by a very pleaſant refreſhing white ſubſtance, about the conſiſtence of the Pulp of a Roaſted Apple, moderately ſharp and Sweet, from which when Ripe it's Nuts are Separated, and by Drying Cured.

Piemento is another naturall production of thoſe Iſlands, but principally in *Jamaica*, from whence many call it *Jamaica* Pepper, from the place and Figure of it; the Trees that bear it are generally very Tall and ſpreading, ſo that the trouble of Climbing them to gather it, would make it incredibly Dear, and thoſe that be left generally growing in the Iſland, Mountains and Woods which are not taken up for Planting, but remain in the Kings hands:

Their

Their way is to go with their Slaves into the Woods where it is plenty, and cutting down the Trees, pick it off from the Branches, ſo that no *Piemento* comes into *Europe* twice from one Tree; and it hap'ning often to miſs for two or three years together, what it produces at preſent muſt be accounted an Accidental benefit to the Planters rather than any thing to be rely'd on as a National Advantage or conſtant Encouragement.

The like may be ſaid of *Lignum Vitæ*, or *Guaiacum*, of Red-wood, and ſeveral ſorts of other Trees, which come thence, for the more come the leſs remains, and the time required for the growing of thoſe hard woods in the Room of thoſe cut down, is in humane reaſon ſo many hundreds of years, that the propoſing to plant them would be rather a proof of madneſs then foreſight; it being obſervable, that in thoſe ſpreading woods where never Axe was handled for Cutting them down, nor Carriage came to remove them, nor Fire to burn them, there cannot be found one Dotard or periſhing Tree of any uſefull kind, if of any at all.

To make and manage a *Virginia* or *Maryland* Plantation for Tobacco, every hand employ'd therein muſt be furniſht with an Axe, a Saw, and other Inſtruments for felling Timber, and grubbing up its Roots.

When the ground is clear'd of Trees and Rubbiſh, then it is broke up with Hoes, and afterwards with thoſe, and Spades brought into little Hillocks, like thoſe moles turn up, into every one of which is placed one Plant, ſo that they grow about three, four, and five foot aſunder.

The *Tobacco* Plants are rais'd from its ſeed ſowed in Nurſeries of hot beds skillfully prepar'd for that purpoſe in the months of *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*, and is drawn thence and planted in the prepared little Hills in the Months of *May* and *June*, and will be ready for Cutting in *July*, or *Auguſt* following: But all the while from its planting, it is carefully to be watched, and every plant that is perceived to be dying muſt be taken away, and a freſh one ſet in the Hill, from whence the dead or dying plant was remov'd.

Tobacco Plants are very ſubject to be undermined, eaten and Deſtroy'd by a Grub or Worm that breeds about its root, which ſometimes in ſpite of all the Care and skill of the moſt ingenious

Planter will deſtroy his whole Crop, nor do they ever eſcape ſome miſchief from it, ſo that a *Tobacco* Plantation from *January*, that they ſow the Seed till *Auguſt*, that they Cut it, is a continuall Care and Field-labour, in Sowing, Planting, Hoeing, Weeding, Worming, Succouring, and renewing; it has ſeverall accidents attend it, till it be Cut and Carryed into the Curing-houſe, where it is hang'd Plant by Plant at an equall diſtance till it become powder-Dry; at which time of the year that Country is ſubject to great Fogs and Miſts which makes it become Waxy, and if it riſes again, then it is fully Cured, and become fit to be Casked; all Sweet-Sented requires about three weeks time, and *Orronocko* about ſix weeks time; and in about three weeks time more after its Casking, it ſhows it ſelf whether it be well Cured or no: For tho' the Experience't Planter knows certainly whether his *Tobacco* be well or ill-Cured, the Purchaſer cannot, and may be wrong'd, if he buys it in leſs than three weeks time after its Casking: For if it had not been perfectly Dryed, it will certainly Rot, Periſh, and become good for nothing: So that not only the prime Coſt but the freight home may be loſt: And this the neceſſities of the Planters ſometimes only Occaſions, for by making too much haſt not to loſe his Market, many times the whole years Labour and Expectation is totally loſt, And the Care therein is very great, for there is not a Leaf of *Tobacco* put on Board the Ship that is well Cured, but has paſs'd at leaſt ſix and thirty times through the hand of the Planter or Labourer: They ſhip it out from the Month of *October* till *Aprill* following; The Anuall Exportation from all the *Tobacco-Collonies* being an Hundred and Forty Thouſand Hogſheads at four hundred and fifty pound weight to a Hogſhead.

The Plantations are generally made into ſmall parcells, not above eight or ten hands at a place, being the moſt beneficiall and true way both for making the *Tobacco*, and raiſing proviſions for them, and the Curing-houſe muſt not be at Diſtance from the grounds where the *Tobacco* grows.

The price of every pound weight of *Tobacco* Imported into the Nation before we Planted it, was from about four Shillings to ſixteen Shillings a pound, and now the beſt *Virginia* is not above ſevenpence to the Merchant, of which the King has five pence.

Two thirds of the *Tobacco* brought from thoſe Collonies is Exported

ported to Forreign Markets, which at about three pound the Hogshead (which is the least the Nation gets by it) amounts to above two hundred thousand pound, besides the great quantity of Shipping it Employs.

It is not so little as a Million the Kingdom saves yearly by our planting *Tobacco*, so that reckoning the white people in our *Tobacco-Collonies* to be a hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children, they one with another are each of them twelve pound a year profit to the Nation.

There are in those Collonies by a probable Computation about six hundred thousand *Negro's* and *Indians*, Men, Women, and Childred, and would be more, could they readyly get *Negro's* from *Guinea*, every one of which Consumes yearly two Hilling Hoes, two Weeding-Hoes, two Grubbing-Hoes, besides *Axes*, *Saws*, *Wimbles*, *Nails*, and other Iron *Tools* and *Materialls*, Consumed in Building and other Uses, to the Value of at least a hundred and twenty Thousand pound *Sterling* in only Iron-work.

The Cloaths, Guns, Cordage, Anchors, Sails and Materials for Shipping, besides Beds and other Houshold-Goods consumed and used by them, are Infinite, nor is the benefit of them to the Kingdom sufficiently to be Explain'd; Therefore let it suffice in one word to say, that the produce and Consumption with the Shipping they give Employment to, is of an Infinite deal more benefit to the Wealth, Honour, and Strength of the Nation, then four times the same Number of Hands the best Employ'd at Home can be.

And thus much more I shall say for the Collonies, as they are to the Nation the most usefull and profitable Hands Employ'd, and the best Trade we have, both to the Consuming the Woolen-Manufactory of *England*, and the Encouraging of Navigation, So those that go thither as Servants, if they are Industrious and Just to their Masters, they live much easier than in *England*, and much more likelier to get Estates, of which there are many Presidents, and also they have been a great relief to many Men (whose misfortunes has forc'd them then to leave their own Country,) by their Carrying thither the remains of their Shipwrackt Fortunes, have recover'd their lost Estate, and very much conduced to that Increase of Wealth to this Nation as well as to the Increase of

Shipping, which are the only true Bullworks of this Nation.

That the Courteous Reader may readily ſee the benefit to *England* the hands Employ'd in the Collonies are, I have here made in the nature of a Table what 50 *Negroes* with ſome few white hands (which are rather for ſecurity than otherwiſe) can make, what Tonnage, what value it produces in *England*, what Cuſtom it pays to his Majeſty, It is to be underſtood that all they produce is clear gains to *England* (except ſome Linnen, Wines and Brandy which is brought from Forreign Markets) The reſt is either Freight, Cuſtom, charges of Merchandiſe, Apparel, and neceſſaries for the Plantations or in Caſh, which either ſerves to ſupport the Planters when in *England*, or is laid out in purchaſing Lands; beſides this, the Employing of ſuch a vaſt number of Shipping and Seamen, the benefit of which is well known to every Engliſh Man. And ſince the Plantations have been brought to this Perfection, the Conſumption of *England* ſaves at leaſt two thirds by the Abatement of the price thoſe Commodities bore before they made them, for which they never draw from *England* Gold or Silver, but on the contrary, by Exportation of what is there made over and above our Conſumption, does either occaſion the Enriching of *England* by monies brought from Forreign parts, for the ſales of their product, or by Bartering for other Goods which muſt have been purchaſed by monies, or we muſt have been without them, by the hands Imployed in thoſe Collonies Forreign Commodities became Native to the great Enriching of *England*, as aforeſaid, and to the leſſening the Riches and Strength of all other *European* Nations that produces the like Commodities.

An

An Account of what Advantage hands Employ'd in the Collonies are to this Nation *per Annum.*

	White Men.	Blacks.	Will make	which is in English Tonnage.	*Value in* England.	*Pays Custome.*
			C.			
Of Sugar.—	10	50	800	40	*at* 20*s. per C. is* 800*l.*--	*at* 4*s.* 10*d. per C. is* 193*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Of Mellasses.--			280	14	*at* 8*s. per C. is* 112*l.*--	*at* 0*s.* 9*d. per C. is* 10*l.* 10*s.* 0.
The Excise of Mellasses *when made into Spirits.*						*at* 0*s.* 6*d. per Gall. is* 56*l.* 0. 0.
Totall.	10	50	1080	54	912*l.*--	259*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*
			L.			
Cotton.—	5	50	33000	$41\frac{1}{4}$	*at* 0*s.* 6*d per l. is* 785*l.*-	
Ginger.—	5	50	15000	$7\frac{1}{2}$.	*at* 20*s. per C. is* 134*l.*-	*at* 1*s.* 0*d. per C. is* 6*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*
Indico.—	5	50	5500	23	*at* 4*s. per l. is* 1100*l.*-	*at* 5*s.* 0*d. per C. is* 13*l.* 15. 0.
Totall.	15	150	53500	$71\frac{3}{4}$.	2019*l.*-	20*l.* 19. 0.
			C.			
Tobacco *sweet sented*—	21	50	1430	143	*at* 7*d. per l. is* 4689*l.*--	*at* 5*d. per l. is* 3340*l.* 5*s.* 0.
Orronocko.---	21	50	1712	214	*at* 5*d. per l. is* 3954*l.*--	*at* $\frac{1}{2}$*d. per l. is* 395*l.* 7*s.* 0.
					8642*l.*--	

CAP. III.

FRom what has been ſaid of the Nature and manner of Managing Plantations, is Demonſtrated beyond all Scruple, that thoſe Hands Imploy'd in our Collonies are for their Number the moſt profitable Subjects of theſe Dominions as well to the ends of Conſumption and Delight, as for Increaſing the Wealth, Power, and Glory of the Nation.

Theſe apparent Truths being once known to and generally allow'd of by our Nobillity and Gentry, it is ſenceleſs to Imagine their could be one man amongſt all our Legiſlators ſhould be ſo malicious to the Kingdom as to deſire or endeavour the Diſcouragement, much leſs Ruine of ſuch uſefull Subjects as the Planters are: But for want of Experience in, or Intelligence of their manner of Living, and Employing themſelves in Plantations, the beſt meaning and moſt upright Patriots and Lovers of their Country by wrong application of that right Maxim-People, are the Riches of a Nation, may be moſt apt to ſtudy Reſtraints, Impoſitions, and Severities on their Trade and Negotiation, to their preſent Diſcouragement, and future Ruine: Which having in ſome Degree happen'd allready is the only cauſe I have uſed my Endeavours for clearing thoſe generall Miſtakes, and for laying down ſome few uſefull Rules for the ſupport and Encouragement of them all, but eſpecially the Sugar-Plantations, in whoſe happineſs I being moſt at preſent Concern'd, think my ſelf moſt oblig'd to be Serviceable to my Power, as well as to clear my Reputation; which amongſt other well-meaning Gentlemen is reflected on for deſigning a Common Factory for keeping up the Price of their Product, and a Joynt Stock of Moneys to ſupply at Common Intereſt every Induſtrious Planters wants, till his Commodity could be Sold, which when rightly underſtood, muſt force forgiveneſs, if not Applauſe from the moſt partiall oppoſer of the Deſign.

The

The better to clear which Points, it is neceſſary to Obviate That, the Diſcouragements the Sugar-Plantations lye under, hath for three years laſt paſt furniſhed matters of Complaint to all perſons Concern'd in that Commodity, as well Planter as Merchant, as is Evident by the Solemn Addreſſes were made to the Court on that Subject ſince the paſſing the Act, which lays an Additionall Duty upon Sugar.

The Decay of thoſe Collonies being granted by all parties Concern'd in that advantageous Negotiation, it will be neceſſary to be certain of the Cauſe before proper Remedies can be found out, much leſs apply'd to that Increaſing Diſtemper.

For tho' in groſs it may be Concluded, that the Additionall Duty occaſion'd the miſchief, yet thoſe who contriv'd that Revenue for the Crown, did not intend the Burden thereof ſhould have fallen on the Planter or Merchant, but on the Conſumptioner, which then had not been the leaſt Inconvenience or Diſcouragement either to Planting or Trade, and Conſequently a more Equall and leſs Miſchievous Tax could not have been laid upon the Nation.

But the price of Sugar before the Act, Compar'd with that ſince, and the Generall fall of Plantations, demonſtrates beyond Contradiction or diſpute, that the whole Burden falls on the moſt Induſtrious, moſt uſefull, and beſt Employ'd People, for their Numbers can be found in all his Majeſties Dominions, which are thoſe of the Sugar Collonies, beſides the Inequality of the thing, That Sixty Thouſand Induſtrious People which the Parliament intended ſhould pay nothing, are by Accident made to bear an Impoſition deſign'd to be laid on the Voluntary Conſumption of Eight Millions

That the matter of Fact is this, it cannot be deny'd by the moſt partiall and Intereſted, againſt what has been prepos'd for the Common Factory, tho' the natural averſion moſt Men have to new Invention, joyn'd with the private Intereſt of ſome few Men who are Factors at home, lazineſs of thought in ſome, and weakneſs of Underſtanding in others, will, I am ſenſible, make it difficult, if not Impoſſible, to Eſtabliſh the moſt Compendious and proper Remedy for that lingring diſtemper.

But this I dare boldly affirm, that what was then preſcrib'd, carryed along with its ſelf, Evident proofs of its Innocency and well

well-meaning, ſince nothing therein could poſſibly take effect untill every ſeveral Sugar-Collony in *America* had in their generall Aſſemblies conſider'd and approv'd every part of it.

For without the Sanction and Laws of every Severall and individuall Collony, by their Acts of Aſſembly, the whole and every part of the Propoſall was utterly inconſiſtent and unpracticable, as thoſe who will give themſelves leave to examine it, will undeniably find.

So that if it may be ſuppos'd, that the Collonies themſelves are proper Judges of what they ſuffer, want, and would have, it cannot be deny'd, but that their minds muſt beſt appear in generall Aſſemblies.

From whence it conſequently follows, That tho' the Propoſition might not be practicable, by reaſon of the many different Intereſts it was to unite, yet that the propoſers were Innocent, and Sacrificed their Labour, Expences, and Time, with a Laudable Intention.

To leave therefore that Matter in the State it is, I will proceed to Obviate the true and genuine Cauſes of the preſent Diſcouragements thoſe Collonies lye under, which may be reduc'd to three Generall Heads.

1. That which is neceſſary to the beginning, Increaſe, and ſupport of a Plantation, comes to them much dearer than it might.

2. That what they produce by Planting, is forc't to be ſold at Market, much Cheaper than can be afforded to the Nations Loſs as well as theirs.

3. That what they produce is Carryed to Forreign Markets at a much greater Charge than they might Carry it for.

To make it Evident, that what they want to Begin, Increaſe, and Support a Plantation, comes to them much Dearer than it might, I muſt deſire the Reader to conſider from what has been ſaid concerning a Sugar Plantation, that the main ſupport of that as well as all other Wealth is Labourers; That theſe Labourers in Plantations are either White Servants or Black Slaves, That the White Servants are either ſuch as are Hired for Wages, or Aſſign'd for a Term of Years: Now if it appears that in the preſent Method all theſe ſeverall ſorts of Labourers come to the Planter one Third Dearer than they need, Then it muſt follow, that there is a burden

on

on that Imployment as heavy, as if above thirty *Per Cent*, were laid by way of Tax upon their whole Industry.

That the Case of most Planters is this as well in White Servants as Slaves, and also in most of the Tools, and necessaries, for managing a Plantation is too much felt, to be doubted by all that are Concern'd in that Trade, or are Experienc't in Planting: But to make it clear to others, I must beg them to Consider, that few men leave their Native Country willingly, who have enough conveniently to support themselves in it, except carried away by Ambition or immoderate Avarice, two passions little known or practis'd in *America*.

That therefore those who generally go thither comply with some urgent pressure in their Fortunes or Circumstances at home, So that let them carry with them as good Understandings or strong *Genius*'s and Inclinations to Planting as is possible, yet they must not hope to Reap without they Sow, and Wheat or any other sort of Grain is not a more necessary Seed for its own Species than Wealth is Seed to Wealth: The *Spaniards* have a Proverb to that purpose, which says, He that will bring the *Indies* home must Carry the *Indies* thither. It will not be unnecessary to Explain the generall Causes of their first Thriving, that the unexperienc't Reader may have a just Idea of the Conveniences and Inconveniences have attended those places by the many Changes have hap'ned in the Government and Laws of this Kingdom, since the beginning of the late Civill Wars.

To do which, we will make a short reflection on the unaccountable Negligence, or rather Stupidity of this Nation during the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, *Henry* the Eight, *Edward* the Sixth & *Queen Mary*, who could contentedly sit still and see the *Spaniards* Rifle, Plunder, and bring home undisturb'd all the wealth of that Golden World; and to suffer them with Forts and Castles to shut up the Doors and Entrances into all the Rich Provinces of *America*, having not the least Title or pretence of Right, beyond any other Nation, Except that of being by Accident the first Discoverers of some parts of it, where the Unprecidented Cruelties, Exorbitances and Barbarities, their own Histories witness, they practised on a Poor Naked and Innocent People which Inhabited the Islands, as well as upon those truly Civiliz'd and mighty Empires of *Peru* and

Mexico, Call'd to all mankind for Succour and Relief againſt their Outrageous Avarice and horrid Maſſacres: Therefore for a Nation Scituated like ours for Trade and Navigation, being by the Kingdom of *Ireland* the neareſt Eaſtern Neighbour to that Weſtern World: To ſit ſtill and look upon all this, without either Envy or Pitty, muſt I ſay remain a laſting Mark of the inſenſibility of thoſe Times, and the little knowledge our Forefathers had of the true Intereſt of Mankind in generall, or of their own Country in particular.

Nor did we awake from this Lethargy and wonderfull Doſing by any prudent foreſight or form'd Councill and Deſign, But ſlept on untill the Ambitious *Spaniard* by that inexhauſtible Spring of Treaſure had Corrupted moſt of the Courts and Senates of *Europe*, and had ſet on Fire by Civill Broyls and Diſcords all our Neighbour-Nations, or had ſubduced them to his Yoak, Contriving too, to make Us wear his Chains, and bear a ſhare in the Triumph of Univerſall Monarchy, not only Projected, but near accompliſh't when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, as all Hiſtorians of thoſe times do plainly make appear: And to the divided Intereſts of *Phillip* the Second, and Queen *Elizabeth* in perſonall more than Nationall Concerns, we do owe that ſtart of hers in letting looſe upon him, and Encouraging thoſe daring adventurers *Drake*, *Hawkyns*, *Rawleigh*, the Lord *Clifford*, and many other Braves that Age produced; who by their Privateering and bold undertaking, like thoſe the *Buccaneers* practiſe, now open'd the way to our Diſcoveries and Succeeding Settlements in *America*; which ſince as it were by Chance, occaſion'd only by the Neceſſities of many, wrought upon by the Example, Wiſdom, and Succeſs of ſome few particulars, without any form'd Deſign, Help or Aſſiſtance from our State-Councells, or Legiſlators, in leſs then one Century, hath Throve ſo well, that they are become the Example and Envy, and might be the Terrour of all our Neighbour Maritime Nations: And do undoubtedly Maintain above half that vaſt quantity of Shipping we Employ in Forreign Trade; ſo that it can be from no other cauſe but want of Information that many of our Laws as well as Court-Maxims and Practices, run oppoſit to their Encouragement, Protection, and Increaſe.

The beginning of our *American* Settlements were made in the latter

latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, by the Encouragement of Sr. *Walter Rowleigh*, who undertook the Planting of *Virginia*, and first brought the use of *Tobacco* into *England*; but that nor any other Collony of ours in the *West-Indies* did promise much Success either to the Nation or Undertakers, untill the Reign of King *James the first*, whose Peace with the Crown of *Spain* restrain'd those bold Privateers who before by Harasing the *Spanish* Collonies and Mast'ring their Rich Ships of Plate, had become very Wealthy as well as Numerous: But much against the will of most of them, but Principally of such who had not sufficiently made their fortunes, this Peace oblig'd them to change the prospect of their future Conduct from Rapine and spoyl, to Trade and Planting; So that in a very short time a considerable Settlement was made in the Northern parts of *America*, to the great Increase of good Shipping in the Kingdom: By this means a generall Notion of having enough profitable Land in those parts of the world for nothing, so infected the whole Kingdom, that not only the Necessitous and Loose part of the Nation flockt thither, but many Non-conformists did Solicite his Majesty for leave to make a Settlement together under privileges and Liberties, both in Civil and Church-Matters, by a Constitution of their own. This Combination King *James* prudently consented to, and Confirm'd by his Letters-Patents, wisely foreseeing, that tho' a *Species* of a Commonwealth was thereby introduc'd into his Dominions, yet the dependence thereof must be upon the Crown for protection, and consequently that part of his Subjects then call'd Puritans, would not be totally lost to the Nation, as they must be if driven for ever to remain in Forreign Countryes: Thus began that Numerous Collony of *New-England*, where under frugall Laws, Customs and Constitutions, they live, without applying themselves to Planting any *Tobacco* or other *American* Commodities, except for their own private use. But by Tillage, Pasture, Fishing, Manufactures and Trade, they to all Intents and purposes imitate old *England*, and did formerly much, and in some Degree do now Supply the other Collonies with Provisions in Exchange for their Commodities, as *Tobacco*, *Sugar*, *&c.* which they carried to Forreign Markets, how conveniently for the Nations Interest I shall not determine, being no Enemy to any kind of honest Industry: But this cannot chuse but be allow'd, that if any

hands in the *Indies* be wrong. Employ'd for Domeſtick Intereſt, it muſt be theirs, and thoſe other Collonies, which ſettle with no other proſpect than the like way of Living: Therefore if any ſuch only ſhould be neglected and diſcourag'd who purſue a Method, rivalls our Native Kingdom, and threatens in time a totall Independency thereupon.

But as this cannot be ſaid of our *Tobacco*-Collonies, much leſs it is to be fear'd from our Sugar-Plantations, except by groſs miſtakes at home we at laſt force them to part with their black-Slaves to the *Spaniards*, and betake themſelves to the ſole Planting of Proviſions, and living upon their Eſtates, which ſhould it happen would be the greateſt blow to our Navigation, and conſequently to the Rents that the Kingdom ever received ſince it was a Trading Nation.

This Digreſſion I hope may be pardon'd, ſince it Explains a little the difference of our Nationall Intereſt in the ſeverall ſorts of *American* Collonies.

Nor would I be ſuppoſed to be ſo Ignorant, to think, that no kind of Collonies can Empty, and conſequently Ruine the Nation: No, there is a naturall boundary to all worldly matters; and it becomes the Wiſedom of Legiſlators truly to diſtinguiſh the depending and profitable, from the Detacht and Undermining Collonies, and rightly apply Lenitives and Corroſives accordingly.

To return therefore to thoſe within the Tropicks which are principally ſuppoſed by making Sugar; The beginning of their Settlement was without the leaſt proſpect of Succeeding in that Commodity, the Art of making which, as I ſaid before being by meer Accident gain'd in *Barbados* by a *Hollander*, ſomething more than half a Century ſince: And as it was the happineſs of thoſe Iſlands to learn it from a *Dutchman*, ſo the firſt and main ſupporters of them in their progreſs to that perfection they are arrived to, exceeding all the Nations in the World, is principally owing to that Nation, who being eternall Prolers about, and Searchers for moderate Gains by Trade, did give credit to thoſe *Iſlanders* as well as they did to the *Portugalls* in *Braſile*, for Black Slaves, and all other neceſſaries for planting, taking as their Crops throve, the Sugar they made: Thus with light but ſure Gains to themſelves, they nouriſht the Induſtrious, and conſequently Improving Planters,

ters, both before, and during the Civill Wars in these Islands: the Fame of whose good Fortune being spread at home, many ingenious Gentlemen who had unfortunately follow'd the Royall Interest Convey'd the remains of their shipwrackt Fortunes thither: amongst which Collonell *Henry Walldronds* Father, with himself and other his Relations of that Family, were not inconsiderable either for Quality, Industry, or Parts: So that by theirs and many undone Cavaliers who follow'd their Example, new Improvements and Experiments were dayly added to the Art of Planting, making and Refining Sugar, which were taken from them by the *Dutch* till Sir *George Askew* with a Squadron of Ships remov'd the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* from Governing there, for his Exill'd Majesty *Charles the Second*, and Reduced the Island to the *States* Obedience: Soon after which the *Dutch War* hap'ning, all further Trade with that Nation ceast, by whose help they being then strong enough to subsist of themselves, their future Dealing return'd to its proper Center, which was Trading with their native Country; since which time that Island which contains but Acres, and not more than five and twenty thousand white Inhabitants, has produced in Commodities above thirty Millions *Sterling*, has pay'd in Duties to support the Government at a modest Computation, above $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Million which will seem incredible to those that have not Employ'd thoughts on it.

I have rather mentioned Collonel *Henry Walldrone* for one Instance of such as our Civill War drove abroad, because in his particular Case and Sufferings, great inferences may be made for Explaining the many Inconveniences those Collonies are now Subject to, as well as because he has been one who did Endeavour to Obviate the Mischief attended the Act for additionall Duty upon Sugar, and was most Zealous in his Applications at Court for Relief to his fellow-Planters, even whilst he struggl'd under such severe Oppressions of Power as might have reduc't to Despair the greatest Courage: and to him and his continuall Endeavours for their benefit, all the Planters in the *Indies* owe their Thanks at least, for he not only made the Court sensible of the great Mistake they lay under, both by the laying and unjust manner of Collecting that Additionall Duty which at least will prove a caution to future Councells for their Conduct in like Case, But was at great Labour and Charge in

in Conjunction with my ſelf and other Gentlemen, intelligent perſons in that Affair, to invent if poſſible a proper Remedy for their languiſhing Condition, which can never be but by ſome ſuch way as may furniſh them with ſufficient Money and Credit on their Induſtry and Commodities, as may enable them to buy their neceſſaries at reaſonable Rates, and Sell their produce at a ſaving Price, neither of which it is poſſible for them to do at preſent.

For tho' to do right to the *Affrican* Company they have been wonderfully kinde in the Credit they have given the Plantations, and that rightly managed a Company is able to ſupply them with Negro's Cheaper than a looſe Trade could, yet the Complaints the Company continually make of the Collonies bad pay, and the Complaints of the Collonies for being ill ſupplyed with Negro's, allow both true, it will be neceſſary to Enquire into the reall cauſe of both Inconveniencies before proper Remedies can be propos'd.

To ſtate the Caſe truly 'tis to be conſider'd that when the Company was firſt Erected, with Excluſion to all others for Trading in *Guinea*, the conſequence thereof was never foreſeen by the Planters, for if it had, they could not have fail'd Complaining againſt its Eſtabliſhment upon the foundation of ſuch Privileges they now pretend to; Nor could any invention in the world have appear'd a more pernicious Monopoly, than that would have been Judg'd to be upon a free Examination, before Cuſtome and Neceſſity had reduc'd the Collonies to a Servile Dependence thereupon.

For let be granted there was a kind of a Prudent neceſſity in the Government here, to unite a Company for ſecuring the Gold and Teeth Trade in *Guinea*, and that it was in the power of the Crown to prohibit all others but ſuch Company, to Trade, within the Limits aſſign'd them by their Charter; Yet this did not at all reach the Plantations at firſt, nor did ſeem to prohibit them from buying Slaves at the beſt Market, as ſince it has been Interpreted: For with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments, the conſequence of that Interpretation ſeems to me to be an Inlet to all manner of Monopolies.

For why ſhould not the Crown by the ſame Rule make a Company who ſhould have only power to Trade thither in Iron-ware, and another for Wine, the like for Mum, or any other Commodity they want, as to prohibit bringing thither Slaves but for the Company's

Company's Account, for the Caſe to all intents and purpoſes is the ſame, for it is beyond all diſpute known, that the Collonies under a free, Open, and Looſe Trade for *Negro's*, did flouriſh and Increaſe before the Company was Erected.

It is certain, that they could ſtill be ſupplied plentifully at $\frac{2}{3}$ the price the Company makes them pay.

It is as undeniable, that the Company doth not Supply them with the full Numbers they want, and could have, did not the Company ſhut all doors to their Supply.

And it cannot be denied, but in theſe few heads are included all the ſeveral Inconveniences ſo Complain'd of in a Monopoly.

I. For hereby a looſe Trade is turn'd into a Reſtrain'd, which leſſens the Numbers of Shipping that would Trade to *Guinea*.

II. That comes dear to the Subject that might be Cheap.

III And a uſefull Commodity to the Increaſe of Wealth is not to be had in a ſufficient quantity.

It is alledged that ſome part of the Trade of *Guinea* conſidering who are our Rivalls in it, cannot be preſerved without Force, and that the Caſtle muſt be maintain'd, or that part of the Trade loſt, and that the Caſtle *&c.* cannot be ſupported but with great Coſt, And that that charge falls extreamly heavy upon ſo ſmall a ſtock as that of the *African* Company.

The conſequence of which premiſes is, They will always be neceſſitated to keep up the price of *Negro's* $\frac{1}{3}$ more than otherwiſe we need, (tho' the Caſtles are not ſupported, or little or no ways uſefull to the *Negro*-Trade, they keeping no Forts, and ſeldom Factors at thoſe places where the *Negro's* are moſt bought at.)

I confeſs a ſtrong Argument for the Company, but a ſowr one for the Collonies which ſeem hereby depriv'd of their Birthright, The Liberty of the Subject, and their poſſeſſion which Conſiſted in a looſe Trade.

The Premiſes conſidered, the Planters may therefore juſtly deſire that the National Intereſt in the *Guinea*-Trade, The Forts, *&c.* may be equally ſupported by all the Nation, as our Navy's neceſſary Forts and Garriſons at home are, and not fall ſolely on their Labour and Induſtry: For the neceſſary ſupply of *Negro's* to the Collonies Annually ſhould not be leſs than Twenty thouſand pound.

Therefore upon a fair Repreſentation of the Charge of the Caſtle

ſtle &c. it cannot be queſtion'd but the Parliament will provide for their ſupport, if it appear a National Intereſt, to preſerve the Collonies, and that Trade, as no doubt it is.

But as I hinted before, another cauſe of their ſelling dear is the bad Pay they Complain of in the Collonies, and it may not be without Cauſe that the Company complains: Not that the Collonies give occaſion for it, as matters now ſtand.

For the Country not being able to get *Negro*'s but at ⅓ too dear, and *Negros*' being the main prop of a Plantation, it neceſſarily follows, the Planter muſt be neceſſitous, and thereby forc'd to ſell his produce Cheap, not being able thro' Poverty to keep his Commodity by him untill it will yield a ſaving price.

Thus the true cauſe of his Selling Cheap, is his buying Dear, and both together keep the Induſtrious Planter, who is not got aforehand in his affairs allways indigent and in Debt to the Company: This Debt being as they alledge near three hundred thouſand pound, keeps the Companies ſtock, which at firſt was not more than a hundred and ten thouſand allways out of their hands; The Intereſt of which, with the charge of the Caſtle, falling upon ſo narrow a ſtock as four hundred thouſand pound. This riſing at laſt upon the Plantations, makes their Burden grievous at preſent, and muſt at laſt prove inſupportable, as the Debt Increaſes, for that, and their neceſſities will keep pace together, except ſome ſpeedy Remedy be found for them both.

All this taken apart and duly conſider'd, it will appear probable to all thinking men, that the Plantations muſt Speedily be Ruin'd, and the Commodities ſo profitable to the Nation, fluctuate into the hands of ſome Neighbour-Collonies, who do not ſtruggle under the like Inconveniences; For which time the *French*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, and many other Nations are at watch, and do at preſent Increaſe, proportionably to our diſcouragements: In this Diſmall Proſpect we muſt let them ſtand untill we come to conſider of proper Remedies for theſe and the following Inconveniences.

Another Inconvenience attends them, proceeds from the wrong Notion which has infected our Judges, as well as the leſs intelligent Gentry, that the People which go thither are a Loſs to the Nation.

This, with ſome other more Malicious, but as weak Suggeſti-

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ons, has occasion'd severe and terrible Sentences about Exporting white Servants on pretence of Spiriting, so that many have been forc'd to send for those who have been Transported thither to produce again before the Judges to acknowledge their voluntary Transportation.

This Occasions new Offices, new Fees, new Methods, for sending Servants thither, all which increases their price in the *Indies* very considerably, and falls as bad as a Tax on the Industry of the Planter; besides makes Servants so scarce, that a universall Languishing of such plantations as are growing happens thereby, and that want of white-Servants for term of years occasions the Increase of wages to those they are forc'd to Hire at great Rates to Supply that Defect: This Increase of wages is not only a new Burden upon the present Planters, but lessens their Numbers, many chooshing rather to sell their Industry and Labour, to support themselves under others, than begin planting themselves under such visible Incumbrances as dayly Increase upon that Employment.

Thus one Inconveniency begets another to the Ruine of the present, and discouragement of future Planting, which before I have done must more and more appear as National a concern as any our Council can be busied about.

It is true, many of the first comers, especially in *Barbados* are got above the danger of Ruine by these and other following mischief, that dayly must, if not prevented, Increase upon all who are not in the like Circumstance for Wealth, and peradventure to such the prospect of this General Decay promises a good return and recompence for all the Inconveniences they at present feel in the abatement of the value of their Plantations

For some of them may perhaps consider, that as the debts of the Collonies Increase to the *African* Company, the ruine of necessitous Planters must follow, as they tumble the quantity of Sugar produc'd, must diminish, and as that happens, the price must rise; So that their own Plantations being sure to stand, must likewise improve at last, proportionably to the General and National loss besides: That they are sure as Plantations, *Negro*'s and Stock come to be seiz'd for debt, they will be sold for less than their half value, and can be no Mens Money but theirs who have it to spare; That this hath and doth dayly happen, and must more and more, if no

Remedy be found out, is ſo certain, that none Intelligent among the *American* Merchants and Factors but knows many ſad Examples of that kind ;. So that if the price ſhould riſe by abatement of quantity, tho' convenient for ſome overgrown Planters and Wealthy Merchants, does tend to nothing leſs then the decay of Shipping, leſſening the Numbers of White People, and driving them to the *Dutch* Plantations.

Another great diſcouragement thoſe Collonies lye under, is the Arbitrary Power and practices of their Governours there, and the Court at home, which ſome have to their undoing felt and all are liable to.

I will inſtance in the Caſe of ſome few, that the Reader may the better Judge of the Condition of them all.

In the year 1669. Coll. ſince Sir *Henry Morgan* commonly called *Panama Morgan*, for his Glorious undertaking and Conqueſt of the *Spaniards* of that place, by fewer then Twelve hundred Men, without either Horſe or Pikemen to oppoſe in fair fight above Six Thouſand Foot, and Five hundred Horſe, which he did and afterwards took and Ranſackt a Town, that had baffled, when not half ſo ſtrong the famous Sir *Francis Drake* who attaqu'd it with Four Thouſand. This Man as great an Honour to our Nation and terrour to the *Spaniards* as ever was born in it, Notwithſtanding he had done nothing but by Commiſſion of the Governour and Councill of *Jamaica*, and had received their Formal and Publick thanks for the Action, was upon a Letter from the Secretary of State ſent into *England* a Priſoner, and without being Charged with any Crime, or ever brought to a Hearing, he was kept here at his own great Expence above Three year, not only to the waſting of ſome thouſands he was then worth, and bringing him into great debts, but to the hinderance of his Planting, and Improvement of his Fortune by his Induſtry, towards which none in that place was in a fairer way ; So that under thoſe difficulties, and the perpetual Malice of a prevailing Court-Faction, he waſted the remaining part of his life, oppreſt not only by thoſe but by a lingring Conſumption, the coldneſs of this Climate and his vexations had brought him into, when he was forced to ſtay here.

Another remarkable Example of the like Inconveniencies they have been and are liable to is, that of the beforementioned Colonel *Wallrond*,

Wallrond, who upon a bare ſuggeſtion againſt him made by a Man fairly tryed before a Court of *Oyer and Terminer*, wherein he was but one, tho' the firſt Commiſſion, was Commanded from *Barbados* hither, where he has been detain'd above three Years, And at laſt upon a full Tryal at an Aſſizes in the Countrey where his Adverſary was powerfull, and himſelf utterly a Stranger, there was given againſt him but 30*l* damage, and that for no other reaſon, but that the Court-Judge was pleaſed to over-rule this Plea:—Whereby ſuch a Diſorder, Ruine, and Diſtraction of his Wife, Children, Family, Plantation and Eſtate, has hapned to him, that as the Calamity is not to be expreſt, and for ſome reſpects is not fit to be related, ſo it could never have been ſupported by any Man but one of an Extraordinary Fortitude and Underſtanding, which he has Demonſtrated by his conſtant Endeavours under his unjuſt Oppreſſions to ſerve the Publick Int'reſt of thoſe Collonies, and rightly to repreſent their ſad Condition at Court, eſpecially that of *Barbados*, who was ſo kind and juſt to him at his coming thence, as by the repreſentative body of that Iſland, together with his Majeſties Governour and Council, to make a preſent unto him of Five hundred pound *Sterling* in acknowledgment of his good Service he had done that Country, together with a publick Declaration of his juſt proceedings in that Court of *Oyer and Terminer*, and eſpecially in this Caſe, he was brought over upon; And this I muſt further obſerve to the Reader, that it was not the leaſt Crime of State was ſo much as alledg'd againſt him, for baniſhing him from *Barbados* into *England*, but meerly private Malice ſupported by the Partiall Tyranny of ſome great Men occaſioned all his ſufferings.

I ſhall not mention the Numerous Examples of Men have been thus ſent from their Habitation and Induſtry in thoſe parts, but ſhall content my ſelf with theſe two notorious Inſtances of the hard Caſe thoſe well-Employ'd Members of the Nation are in, For any man who would think it deſtructive to Liberty and Property to be baniſht into *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, or any other Collony from *England*, muſt believe it is as great an Oppreſſion to be kept from thence againſt his will, when all his Fortune and Eſtate not only lies there, but for want of his own management is liable to infinite more Caſualties and loſs than any Eſtate in *England* can be.

Another Inconveniency attends the Collonies, is, their being forced

ced to bring their Commodities first into *England* before they can carry it to any Forreign Market, which would appear upon a true Examination, not the least advantage to the Nation, but a great loss, as I shall demonstrate when I come to propose proper Remedies for these and many other Inconveniences the Collonies at present struggle under, which might be remov'd with greater Profit both to the Crown and Kingdom than to them.

Thus in short it appears, that Buying the necessary matters for beginning and Supporting a Plantation $\frac{1}{3}$ dearer then might in a right method be afforded them, is one great Discouraging to Planting.

A Second is, that some of them being necessitous, they are all forced to sell their produce much cheaper than they can under that Burden, afford them.

A third for want of a sufficient stock or Credit they are not able to Meliorate their Sugars to a degree fit for Consumption, whereby so beneficiall an Art is thrown away upon our *Hamburgh* and *Holland*-Neighbours, to the mighty Increase of their Wealth and Navigation, by our Neglect as well as Inconvenient Customs and Laws.

A Fourth, by being Subject to the Inconveniency of Complaints, Suits, and Removals into *England* for matters sufficiently Cognizable in those parts; To all which I shall only add to this Section two more.

The first, a want of a true Method for preserving the Estates and Plantations of deceased Persons for the use of their Relations or Creditors in *England*.

And Lastly, by the great quantity of Commodities are sent out of the Leeward *Carribee* Islands, and sold to the *Dutch* at low prices, for private Lucre, for those people saving all the Duty as well of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* there, as the Customs in *England*, and having Goods in Barter for them directly from *Holland*, can afford their Sugar much Cheaper than their Neighbours; so that there goes out of that back door for *Holland* under the name St. *Eustace* Sugar, above a Thousand and Five hundred Hogsheads of Muscovado Sugar, which refined with great advantage to that Nation in *Holland* keeps the Market Low in all Forreign parts; The proper Remedies for all which Inconveniences I shall strive to propose in my next Chapter.

Cap. IV.

CAP. IV.

BY what has been ſaid before, I will take it for granted, that the Reader diſcerns clearly how much to the advantage of the Nation all thoſe hands are Employ'd which go to our *American* Collonies, and principally ſuch as Tranſport themſelves and Servants to the *Sugar*-Plantations, as likewiſe how many inconvenient diſcouragements they at preſent Struggle.

The firſt Remedy to which Inconveniences that I ſhall preſume to Propoſe, is what we moſt certainly are very defective in for the greateſt Concern of the Nation, which is for all ſorts of Trade, I mean an Able Dilligent, Impartiall, and conſtant Sitting Councell of Trade, where all ſorts of Propoſitions concerning it might freely be Debated, and thoroughly Examined before they come into the Parliament or Councell, for ſuch a conſtitution would be an infallible Touch-ſtone to try the intrinſick Value of all Notions, and Projects, that mankinde can Invent, either for the generall good or particular advantage: It being allmoſt impoſſible for the Privy-Councell or Committees of Parliament in the methods they proceed by, ever to Inform themſelves rightly of any one Difficult matter comes before them.

For let but a Thinking-man any ways verſt in Trade but reflect, how many interferring Accidents there is belongs to that myſtery, and how many various ſhapes every Branch of it has taken before it arriv'd to perfection, and they will conclude it impoſſible for Noblemen and Gentlemen by ſhort Debates partially Manag'd, as they are uſually before them, ever to arrive to a perfect Underſtanding of the matters in queſtion, for want of which, their judgements are abus'd by Clamour, Importunity, Prejudice, Partiallity, or ſome other prevailing Byas, and ſeldom or never, if the matter be of Importance enough to require Debating, ever come to a right

Deciſion,

Deciſion, whereby at laſt the Secretary or Clerk to ſuch a Board becomes the only Oracle to it, and as he feels the Cauſe heavy or light, Weakly or Potently Backt, can read its Deſtiny before One Argument is heard, concerning the matter in Iſſue, be it of never ſo conſiderable Conſequence.

That this is true, all men who have ever been concern'd to attend thoſe kind of Aſſemblies, can infallibly witneſs; but withall one would wonder that a Nation ſo concern'd for their Intereſt as Ours, wherein there are few men, will make a Step in any Conſiderable Dealing, without the advice of ſome Councell Learned in the Point: That the Government of it which ſhould conſiſt of the wiſeſt of them, ſhould take upon them to alter and change the ſhape of the greateſt concerns of the whole, without the Impartiall Advice of ſome continually Active and Solicitous in the Miſtery of it; But this being ſo, it is no wonder Our Laws and Councell-Book-Orders are ſo often forc'd to be chang'd, for being in direct Oppoſition to a Nationall Intereſt; Therefore as the firſt great Remedy to the Grievances attend Our Collonies, I do Propoſe that a Councell of Trade may by Act of Parliament be Eſtabliſh't to conſiſt of a Preſident, Vice-Preſident, and ſome convenieut number of Members who may continually be ſitting to Hear, Debate, and Examine all ſort of Propoſalls and Difficulties that ariſe about Trade; and that they may have ſuch Sallaries out of the publick Purſe as may make the Buſineſs worth wiſe mens attendance; that no Propoſall whatever ſhould there be refus'd to receive a Debate and two or three hearings, or more, as the matter Imports, that nothing ſhould be diſmiſt with a refuſall, but with the Reaſons the Councell had for doing it, Annext to the Propoſall: That no Judgment of theirs ſhould be Finall or Concluding, but ſubject to review either there at the Privy-Councell or Parliament, when anſwers were in Writing made and Exhibited againſt ſuch Reaſons: And that nothing ſhould be advanc'd either in Parliament or Privy-Councell that concern'd the Plantations, Forreign-Negotiation, Manufactures, Trade or Patents for new Inventions, which had not been weigh'd and examined if not approv'd of in mature Debates at that Councell when Eſtabliſht.

If ſuch a Board as this was Erected under members of large *Genius's* and proper Rules, it would ſave me and every other Man concern'd

cern'd for the publick, the pains I and they take in writing on theſe ſort of Theams; and the Memoirs, Debates, and Reſolutions of that ſo neceſſary Aſſembly would be the undoubted Rules for guiding all Commerce, as well as laying on of proper Impoſitions upon Trade: But for want of ſuch a Court to have recourſe to; I am forced to Appeal to all mankind, by a more troubleſome and tedious as well as leſs Significant Method, which is writing a Book, which may if not lead to a Remedy for the Plantations, at leaſt ſhew I deſign'd nothing elſe when I enter'd into the Undertaking I formerly mentioned.

To haſten therefore to my deſired End, I would propoſe as one effectuall way to help the Plantations, that a ſufficient Fund of money might be lodg'd there, to which as to an infallible Bank every Planter might have recourſe, for credit, proportionable to the reall value of any he has to give in Security, be it Land, Stock or Goods; Now that the want of a Stock of Money in the Plantations is a great hindrance to their Increaſe, is plain from the great Debt due from them to the *Affrican* Company, which as it Increaſes does more and more make the Company incapable of ſending them Sufficient Numbers of *Negro's*, at an equall and Moderate price, as it does them to pay for them when they arrive: But was there a ſufficient Bank upon the Place to which every Man at the Common Intereſt of the place might have recourſe, That Grievance would naturally End, and a Plantation like all Increaſing things would thrive by having it's proper nouriſhment, Money.

But it is Objected, that the legall Int'reſt of the *Collonies* is ſo high, that it gives Sufficient Encouragement to monied men to lend their Money there, without a Joynt ſtock or great Fund to be provided, and ſent thither only for that purpoſe: But Experience as well as right reaſon Evince the Contrary, for we ſee and the *Affrican* Company ſufficiently find, that money and Credit are the things moſt wanted there, notwithſtanding the heighth of Intereſt: For tho' a man that has three or four thouſand pound to put out, would be glad to have ten *Per Cent.* rather than five for it if it were equally legall and ſecure, yet will he not think it worth while to leave his Native Country Friends and Cuſtomary Recreations, to follow extraordinary five *Per Cent*: to the *Barbados*: Or if he did, would there lend it at Intereſt, but would as others do, endeavour to em-

ploy

ploy it in more profitable Ways: And to ſend it thither, or to any other Collony, without going himſelf, is too hazzardous for any prudent man to venture: But if a ſufficient Joynt-Stock was United under proper Rules and Priviledges, for the Uſe of all the Plantations, there is no doubt but the bare Encouragement of that Extraordinary Intereſt would ſufficiently invite Money'd men into the Society; when without the leaſt perſonall Care or poſſibility of hazzard their Buſineſs, muſt of neceſſity be rightly Negotiated by thoſe proper Methods all Companies conſtantly take for the Common Intereſt of the Society: And as nothing could be of more advantage to the Collonies, than a ſufficient Credit for every man that had a ſtock to have recourſe to, ſo nothing could be more neceſſary for the publick to do for them than to Unite ſuch a ſtock for their Uſe, which was one and the main Branches of the Undertaking, and would have anſwered the End of their wants, which is to Buy what they want for ready money, at reaſonable Rates, which now all men know the needy Planter can no ways do.

To Compaſs the Second End, which is to enable the Planter to ſell his Commodity at a full ſaving price, a Common Factory is abſolutely neceſſary; For whileſt there are both poor and Rich men in the World, their Intereſts in divided Dealing muſt of neceſſity Claſh? The poor man muſt ſell his Commodity at the price his preſſing Occaſions force him to comply with, and the Rich man muſt at laſt come to the ſame price, or never ſell at all, when perhaps the Conſumption of the Commodity dealt in, would not be a jot more or leſs for twenty *Per Cent.* difference in the price: that this is the Caſe in *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and ſome other Plantation-Commodities is certain, ſo that nothing places the Duty laid by Parliment on thoſe things to be born by the Planter, but the neceſſitous Seller, who muſt take the firſt Chapmans money; Or the neceſſitous Factor which is all one: That this is plain they will all Confeſs that Oppoſed a Common-Factory, So I ſhall Expoſe all that Miſtery, aiming more to do the Buſineſs, and Juſtify my own Candour; than to anger any man Concern'd either for his reputation or profit.

Wherefore let it ſuffice on this head, to ſay, That a Common Factory if practicable and made equall, would keep up a full ſaving price in any Commodity whatever, as well as *Sugar* and alſo

ſo would place any Duty the Parliament could invent on the conſumptioner, and not on the Maker or Dealer in it: And that the common-Factory intended was practicably and equally deſigned, will to every diſintereſted man appear, who will but examine the Draughts prepared to be offer'd to the Aſſemblies of the ſeverall Collonies, to whoſe Approbation or Diſlike they were abſolutely to be ſubmitted, before any Joynt-Stock could have been United for their ſervice: Nay, I dare further affirm, that no able or conſiderable Factor but muſt have found his Account by Employment in the Common-Factory, equall to his buſineſs in his particular Dealing, ſince all the perſons to be employ'd therein were allways to be nominated by the ſeverall Collonies, and to have been accountable only to the Planters for their Produce.

But leaving that matter at preſent, I do affirm, that nothing can ever keep up the Juſt price of *Sugars* and other *Weſt-India* Commodities, like an equall Common-Factory, and that well ſettled would ſecure the Planter againſt all Accidents of new Impoſitions, let them be what they would, provided it is pay'd back upon Exportation, and a Proportionable advance were plac'd on the ſame Commodities coming from Foreign parts; by which as an equall Standard, the Parliament too would ſecure the Nation from being Impos'd upon by any exceſſive Price.

Another mighty benefit both to the King, Planter, and Merchant, would accrew by a Common-Factory, if the Cuſtomes and Impoſitions on their Commodities were reduced to a Commutation of ſo much *Per Cent.*, upon Sales as was proportionable to them, for hereby the Importer would not be burden'd with paying down and riſqueing his Duty in truſting his Chapman, nor could the King looſe the leaſt part of what was Due to him, which conveniences were provided for by another Branch of the ſaid Undertaking.

But to paſs again from that, I ſay, nothing can enable the Planters to buy neceſſaries Cheap, like a ſufficient Bank of Credit, nor nothing keeps up the Price of the Commodity as Plantations Increaſe like a Common Factory.

In the next place, to Remedy another Inconveniency attends thoſe Plantations, which is, being forced to bring their produce firſt into *England*, before they can ſend it to Forreign Markets.

But if they had the Priviledge to carry thoſe Commodities di-

rectly abroad which were fully Meliorated, free from paying any Duty or Custome, and Superfluous to our own Consumption, the Crown which is the great End of the constraint could not in the least Suffer, & we with Profit might gain all Forreign Markets, & set the price of those Commodities abroad which we cannot now do, being liable to greater charge by longer Voyages, Double Risques, and the expence of Time and Labour, in Loading and Unloading such Goods, which was also provided for in another Branch of the said undertaking.

To prevent the Incroachment and misrepresentations of Governours and malicious Men against the Industrious Planter, Merchant and Inhabitants of those Collonies, Itinerate Judges might be sent Annually, fully Impower'd to Inspect, examine, and represent matters to the Privy-Councel at their Return; & finally to determine any appeals from the Supream Courts and Councells there: to constitute which Jurisdiction it might be necessary, that three or more of the Members of the Councell of Trade, having not the least private Interest or dealing in those Collonies, might be sent out, attended by a Register or Clerk of that grand assize with a man of War, first to touch at *Barbados*, next at the *Leward Islands*, next at *Jamaica*, then at *Carolina*, So on thro' *Virginia*, *Mary-land*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-England*, and so from thence home. The Major part of them to be Parramount in all Civill cases to all Governours, wherever they resided, that immediately on their arrivall the Assemblies should meet and Sit, by whom they might receive a full account of the Wants, Defects and Requests of each place, as also Examine the severall Administrations of Goods belonging to persons in *England* by the Death of Relations, and any other matters, might prevent Injustice or the necessity of fetching persons thence from their Families or Busines on any Complaints in *England*, that they might be obliged to hold a sort of a Term for three weeks before setting Out to receive Oaths of Witnesses to be used in Evidences there, as also pretences to Estates of persons Deceased, and Controversies about Bills of Exchange, or any other matters which occasion Delay now, and discourages Dealing in those parts; That none of those Judges should go two years Successively together, but that a Rotation of that Employment as near as may be, should be appointed amongst the members which Composed

Compoſed the Councell of Trade; That they ſhould have ſufficient Salleries for their Trouble, and not be ſuffered to receive any other Fee, Preſent, or Reward, beſides Meat and Drink, whatever an Infinite number of Conveniencies might ariſe to thoſe Plantations by ſuch a laſt Reſort: The manner as well as the full Jurisdiction I will omit, being neceſſary to be more enlarged upon, than I am willing in the ſhort Method I have propoſed to my ſelf.

In the next place, I cannot chuſe but think that the Judges after ſuch a Court was Eſtabliſht, might omit taking Cognizance of thoſe Malicious and troubleſome, rather then neceſſary Complaints, about carrying People to the *Indies*, any man concern'd being there upon the place able to make his complaint, and receive full damages for any abuſe put upon him for an unvoluntary Tranſportation or Non performance of the Contract made with them: This would open the Gap to many Peoples going thither, than which I have proved nothing can be of more advantage to the Commonwealth, ſo that by ſaving many troubleſome Fees, and other Dangers, in ſending White-Servants, they might be had much cheaper by the Planter to his great Encouragement.

In the next place, begging pardon of the *African* Company, if I err, I cannot ſee an honeſt Reaſon why the Planters ſhould not be at full Liberty to buy Blacks at the beſt Market they can, the act of Navigation preſerved; For is their Patent alone a ſufficient Juſtification to ſo perfect and miſchievous a Monopoly as that Inhibition they pretend to ſeems to be? For tho' they may give many Reaſons to Warrant that United Stock and Sole Trading in *Guinea* to them, yet I cannot ſee that can hinder Black-Slaves to be brought to the Plantations by any *Engliſh* Ship from any other place: But this I am ſure of, that ſince they may be had by private Merchants ⅓ cheaper than the Company will afford them, they ought to be at Liberty to have them ſince the Nation is ten times more gainer by the labour of the Blacks than the Company is by their Price, and ⅓ more of Blacks Employ'd in Planting, which would follow, if they were ⅓ cheaper, which would alſo enable them to ſell the produce of the Colonies ⅓ cheaper, by which means they would be able to mine all other Forreign Colonies; and in time we may by cheap ſelling get the whole Trade of Sugar into our Hands,

which must be such a National profit by this, and our Former Computations, that no Argument on the other side for the Companies Interest can in the least Ballance: Besides, if it should be allow'd, that the Company furnishes the *Sugar Collonies* with more than they are well payd for, at the Price they take yet they do not bring them in all $\frac{1}{3}$ so many as they could Employ, and do furnish the *Tobacco* Plantations with none at all (except what are first agree'd for in *England*, and then the Merchant pays Extravagantly, and the Planter must advance for the Merchants Encouragement, so must pay a double profit,) who would if they had them at a moderate price quickly double their Numbers to a mighty Increase of Shipping and Nationall Wealth; Thus the prohibition and totall Ingrossing the Trade of Blacks by the Company, does severall ways infinitely prejudice the Plantations and industrious Planters in them, as well as prejudice the Publick; But if the preservation of the *Guinea* Trade be of such advantage to the Kingdom, that the Castles must be maintain'd, it is but reasonable those publick things should fall equally on the publick and not be made so many ways inconvenient to the most usefull part of it, which is the Industrious Planter of *America*.

If it should be found necessary to Support the *African* Company for the good of the *Guinea* Trade, at the same time no doubt but that such care will be taken of the Collonies, that they shall be better and cheaper supply'd than they have been yet, Therefore with Submission to the better Understandings of others among the many ways that may be thought convenient, I do humbly propose, that any Planters may have them Delivered by Lots at a Moderate price in the Collonies, or that any Planter or Merchant giving good Security for the Payment of their Money in *England* at a certain time, may have *Negro's* at a certain Moderate profit to the *African-Company*, put on board their Ship at *Guinea*, or may have goods of the *African* Company at a reasonable profit to be pay'd in *England* at the return of the Ship; Or that they may have liberty to go and Trade thither, paying a moderate Sum *Per Cent.* for leave to carry their own Goods: For it is to be understood, that whatsoever Burthen is put upon the *Negro* Trade, the Planter pays it, and it will so much lessen the Increase of the Plantations.

And since by no discerning person it can be denied but that the

Sugar

Sugar and *Tobacco-Collonies* are of very great advantage to *England*, it is not to be queſtion'd but that our *Legiſlators* will think it worth their while to Methodize that *Commerce* to the beſt advantage, and to ſuffer no hardſhip to be put upon the Planter, that they may be enabled to ſell their Commodities in Forreign Markets, with the benefit of which to *England* will be quickly ſeen, and in a few years (is eaſily to be demonſtrated) that they will bear out all Nations that pretends to produce the like Commodities; and then a moderate Duty may be laid on their product for the Forreigners to pay, which will make Forreigners help to ſupport the Charge of the Nation, and no way hurtfull to the Planter; by what has been ſaid for the *Sugar* and *Tobacco-Collonies*, may be ſaid for all *Collonies* that produces the *Commodities* of Forreign Nations, as Silk, Wines, Oyls, *&c.* and any other number of men that will engage to Plant and produce in ſuch a Term of Years ſuch a quantity of Commodities that are *Forregn Commodities*, and not already produc'd in our *Collonies*, ought to be encouraged by this Nation: For no Trade can be ſo advantageous to this Nation, for the Increaſing of Navigation, and the Conſuming of our Wollen-Manufacture, and indeed every thing that is made or uſed in *England*, as Collonies, for they being *Engliſh*, and having all their commerce from *England*, will always be initiating the Cuſtomes, and Faſhions of *England*, both as to Apparell, houſhold-Furniture, Eating and Drinking, *&c.* For it is impoſſible for them to forget from whence they come, or ever be at reſt (after they have arrived to a Plentifull Eſtate) untill they ſettle their Families in *England*, by which means their Induſtry, time and Labour is to be ſpent for the Inriching the *Engliſh* Nation: Further I ſhall not inlarge, but leave what I have ſaid to the Judgement of every Judicious Reader, to amend wherein I may be defective.

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